Daily Report

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Further on Warsaw Pact Summit in Bucharest

Greetings, Proposals Noted

LD0607213989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] [Presenter] The Warsaw Pact summit meeting—that is, the Political Consultative body's session—begins in Bucharest tomorrow. Here is a report from our special correspondent Miklos Martin-Kovacs, who arrived a short while ago:

[Martin-Kovacs] Today was devoted to protocol in Bucharest; the main event will be the Warsaw Pact summit which begins tomorrow. For this reason, perhaps the reporter can be forgiven for having taken note of symbolic gestures. Thus, for example, the Romanian television newsreel for a few minutes respectfully showed the arrival of the six delegations. We saw, for example, that the heads of the Bulgarian, the GDR, the Polish, the Czechoslovak and the Soviet delegations, and the host, Nicolae Ceausescu, as well as shaking hands, greeted one another with the customary three kisses. The head of the Hungarian delegation, Reszo Nyers, and Nicolae Ceausescu, only shook hands.

The other members of the Hungarian delegation are head of government Miklos Nemeth, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati. The latter two politicians already began work this evening, because at this moment the defense ministers' and the foreign ministers' committees are meeting. Behind closed doors they are discussing how they intend to modernize the Warsaw Pact's organization. One element of the Hungarian proposal is that in addition to military cooperation, taking joint political stands on the main issues of international politics should be increased. However, individual countries should see their own development on a sovereign basis. By the way, it is emphasized by the Hungarian side [words indistinct] that we want relations of consultation, and not coordination. According to the indications, the Soviet Union at any event is a partner in this. This is also indicated by the support Mikhail Gorbachev gave in Paris to the Polish and Hungarian reforms.

Comparison of Ceausescu Toast

AU1007091089

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 8 July carries on pages 1 and 3 the 1,100-word "Toast by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu" at the dinner that he gave in honor of delegates participating in the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries in Bucharest on 7 July. Comparison of the SCINTEIA version with the AGERPRES item published in the 10 July East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 6, column one, subheaded "Ceausescu Toasts Delegates," shows the two to be identical except for the following variations:

Page 6, column two, paragraph four, line one reads: ...socialist countries are calling firmly for further resolute.... (supplying indistinct word)

Page 7, column one, paragraph three, last line reads: ...for independence, for the independence, for the free future of our peoples. (supplying indistinct words)

Same page and column, paragraph six, line three reads: ...parties and countries, please, give your parties.... (confirming queried word)

Same paragraph, line five reads ...with the wishes for new and significant successes.... (supplying indistinct word)

Last paragraph, end of only sentence reads: ...of you all! (lively applause) (providing SCINTEIA applause annotation)

CSSR, Hungarian Premiers Meet

LD0707170989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Romania—Czechoslovak and Hungarian Premiers Ladislav Adamec and Miklos Nemeth had a meeting today in Bucharest to discuss issues of Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations and their further development, particularly in the economic sphere. They briefed one another on progress in implementing the conclusions arising out of their recent talks in Prague, and on ways of proceeding further with their implementation. The working meeting took place on the sidelines of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee session.

Hungarian, Polish Premiers Confer

LD0807162189 Budapest MTI in English 1517 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest, July 8 (MTI)—During the Bucharest session of the Warsaw Treaty Political consultative Committee, Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth held talks in a cordial atmosphere with his Polish counterpart, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, on concrete issues of bilateral relations.

Mr Rakowski also informed his partner about the current state of affairs in Poland.

Bulgaria's Zhivkov Gives Final Speech

AU1007122389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Jul 89 pp 1, 4

[Excerpts] Bucharest, 8 July (RABOTNICHESKO DELO special correspondent Goran Gotev)—The conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee ended today in the Romanian capital under the chairmanship of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council. [passage omitted]

The concluding speech at the close of the conference was made by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, leader of the Bulgarian delegation. He assessed that the conference had proceeded in a businesslike and constructive manner, in the spirit of the times in which we live, and at the level of the relations between the allied socialist states. In this connection the top Bulgarian party and state leader expressed confidence that the adopted documents would justify the great international interest shown toward our countries, the processes taking place in them, and our proposals and actions for establishing the new political thinking in international relations. According to the Bulgarian leader, the implementation of the ideas contained in the documents would represent a further step forward along the road toward a peaceful, more secure, and more democratic world.

Speaking about the declaration adopted by the conference, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated among other things that through this declaration the Warsaw Pact once again expresses its readiness for an equal and fruitful dialogue with the NATO partners and the other European countries on the key issues of the modern day.

In pointing out the main elements in the conference's work, the top Bulgarian party and state leader assessed as particularly important the task of further confirming the political nature of the Warsaw Pact and of transforming it, as Mikhail Gorbachev had pointed out at the conference, from a predominantly military-political to a predominantly political-military alliance.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov also stressed that the conference once again places an important stress on the values common to all states and peoples and on the need for joint actions to resolve the common human tasks facing Europe and the world.

On the subject of certain topical and pressing issues relating to increasing cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, the Bulgarian leader among other things highlighted the attention that the participants in the conference had devoted to democratization, to perfecting the mechanisms of cooperation between our countries, and to the practical implementation of relations of partnership in all spheres of our mutual relations. In his view, updating the forms of cooperation continues to be a priority trend in the policy of the Warsaw Pact states.

In conclusion, the leader of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria pointed out that the chief thing for us now is to redouble our efforts to implement the decisions of the conference in practice. He stated his conviction that the agreed activity of the allied countries in the international arena and our successes in realizing our noble goals will serve to accelerate the successful resolution of the difficult and responsible tasks that face our countries and peoples.

The concluding speech by the Bulgarian party and state leader was listened to with exceptional attention and greeted with prolonged applause.

CSSR, Poland, GDR Sign Ecology Agreement

CSSR Delays on Signatures

AU3006070989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Jun 89 p 2

["vu"-signed report: "Prior to the Signing of a Tripartite Agreement"]

[Text] As is known, the Governments of the CSSR, the Polish People's Republic, and the GDR are preparing an agreement on ecological cooperation among the three countries. According to Polish Radio, the agreement should have been signed on Monday 26 June in Jelenia Gora. However, it can be seen that the Polish Radio report is premature. This is attested to by the standpoint of Miroslav Pavel, head of the Press Department of the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium, which was passed on to the RUDE PRAVO editorial office:

The tripartite agreement between the CSSR, the Polish People's Republic, and the GDR is ready for signing, following intensive talks by the participant countries. Of course, before the CSSR premier signs it, he has requested the standpoints of the two national republics. This legislative process is necessary in view of the CSSR's federative system. It further proceeds from the fact that the agreement touches upon some spheres of the competence of the Governments of the Czech and the Slovak Socialist Republics. Wlodzimierz Mokrzysz czak, ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to the CSSR, has already been informed of this CSSR Government standpoint.

The comprehensive interest in the signing of this agreement—which is also Czechoslovakia's interest—influences the rapid course of the aforementioned legislative process. The Government of the Czech Socialist Republic has already discussed the draft of the agreement and voiced its assent. The Presidium of the Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic will hold a session on Tuesday [27 June].

Stoph Hails Accord

AU0507161389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Jul 89 p 2

[Speech by GDR Premier Willi Stoph on the occasion of the signing of the environmental protection pact by the GDR, Poland, and the CSSR; in Wroclaw on 1 July]

[Text] The Government of the GDR regards the signing of the agreement on cooperation in the sphere of environmental protection between the governments of the GDR, the Polish People's Republic, and the CSSR as an important event in the relations of our three socialist countries which are closely linked through multilateral

cooperation in the spheres of politics, economics, and science and culture. The new agreement opens up new opportunities of cooperation in the ecological field, a field which is gaining in importance. The development of tripartite cooperation to preserve, use, and protect nature will be instrumental in improving the environment and increasing the efficiency of our respective national economies, and will lead to the improvement of working and living conditions of our nations.

The GDR regards the agreement as an unflinching expression of the will of the communist and workers' parties and the governments of our countries to contribute to the preservation and improvement of the ecological balance in our countries and central Europe, by way of a joint utilization of national potentials and resources, and by way of deepening economic, scientific, and technical cooperation. Thanks to this agreement we are contributing to the fulfillment of our international legal obligations to keep our air and waters pollution-free.

The implementation of this agreement will be based on a longstanding and tested bilateral cooperation, especially in the sphere of the protection of coastal waters, as well as other spheres. This solid experience must be utilized in relation to the implementation of the present agreement. Furthermoreo, we must develop new forms of cooperation in the fields of research, development, and production, and in the division of research work projects between specialized research bodies and institutes.

Entering into this agreement, our countries are acting in full accord with the document produced by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact countries, dated July 1988, which points to the effects that the arms race is having on the environment and raises other aspects of ecological protection. We are thus proceeding in the direction of a declared aim—namely, the creative application and further expansion of the political results of the developments in the international community in the sphere of environmental protection.

I wish to stress again, in accord with the intention of this document, the position of the GDR—that the strengthening of peace and international security, by way of further arms reductions and disarmament, is of particular importance for the solution of the world's ecological problems. It is also for this very reason that the GDR supports the far-reaching disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union as well as other Warsaw Pact countries, and confirms its resolve to continue the process of disarmament and detente. The steps our three countries have taken in the sphere of arms reductions point to the right path. I would like to congratulate all those people who contributed to this significant legal document, a document which looks to the future.

Premiers Brief Press on Pact

AU0507201489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jul 89 p 5

[Dalibor Macha-Pavol Minarik dispatch on a news conference given by the CSSR, GDR, and Polish premiers, Ladislav Adamec, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and Wili Stoph respectively, after the signing of the agreement on cooperation in the protection of the environment; in Wroclaw on 1 July]

[Text]

RUDE PRAVO's Question to Three Premiers

Journalistic practice does not often provide an opportunity to interview the premiers of three countries in a short span of time. At Wroclaw city hall on Saturday [1 July], shortly after the signing of the joint agreement [on cooperation in the protection of the environment], RUDE PRAVO correspondents called on—one after another—Comrades Ladislav Adamec, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and Willi Stoph, and asked them several questions, including one for all of them:

[RUDE PRAVO] Will your country not lack resources for the protection of the environment?

Ladislav Adamec: Journalists, but they are not the only ones, often ask that question. For the current Eighth 5-Year Plan, we in the CSSR have earmarked Kcs17 billion for the protection of the environment, and in the coming 5-year plan we reckon with almost double that sum. However, we cannot say that money is not lacking. There is never enough of it, but in no case can it be lacking to such an extent that we would not be able to implement the fundamental things which ecology and the environment need. Of course, we must keep economic viewpoints and the potential of our economies in mind. However, we are not approaching ecological problems empty-handed. By limiting military production in Czechoslovakia we are creating certain reserves and capacities in engineering, and we want to use those precisely in this sphere. However, we must admit that not all resources set aside by the government for the protection of the environment have been sufficiently drawn on in the current 5-year plan. We in the government are addressing this problem and striving to invest this money expediently in the second half of this year and next year.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski: There are only a few countries in the world that have plenty of money. But there is no other solution, we must return to nature what we took away from it in the past. But we were not only taking raw materials from its bowels. We were also taking what can hardly be converted into money. But when I say we must, by that I do not mean only Poland or the CSSR, but all humanity. Namely, in the postwar period, there was a period when no country in the East or West really took into consideration the fact that industrialization is accompanied by destruction of the environment. Only in the past 10-15 years have ecologists begun to draw attention to the fact that man,

while enjoying the accomplishment of the chemical industry, in particular, has been devastating what is the foundation of his existence. Society's increasing ecological awareness today creates the certainty that ever greater expenditure for the protection of the environment will not meet with protest, but understanding. Of course, this will require certain sacrifices on society's part. One will have to give up something in the future, otherwise it will be impossible to achieve the hoped for ecological results. Mankind has devastated the environment throughout the world to such an extent that one can destroy oneself in this way without wars. Factories, combines, the increasing number of automobiles are digging us one huge common grave. Therefore, protection of the environment is actually an urgent problem for each new generation. After all, we all know well what the consequences of ecological catastrophes are.

Willi Stoph: Ecology has stopped being an issue of money alone, it is also becoming an issue of good will. It is a problem that has been facing every one of our countries for quite some time now. Precisely because of that, the joint agreement is of particular importance. Apart from this, I would like to recall an old principle that was affirmed on several occasions in the past. Doing something immediately is better than making up for lost time. And forestalling ecological damage and catastrophe is substantially cheaper than later eliminating the losses they have caused. Therefore, we must organize our cooperation in such a way that the losses to all parties would be as small as possible. Moreover, everyone can make a considerable contribution toward solving this common problem in the sphere of science and research, and the creation of new technologies for the protection of the environment. In this respect I see no difference between a worker, a technician, and a politician. Nor between a young or an old person, whether he lives in the city or in the countryside. We can all contribute to the protection of nature in the broadest sense—for our benefit and for the good of the coming generations.

L. Adamec's Reply to Other Questions

[RUDE PRAVO] What are your concrete proposals for establishing a common "ecological industry" of the CSSR, the Polish People's Republic, and the GDR?

[Adamec] We have proposed that, together with us, Poland and the GDR set up ecological engineering. Everything is only in its initial stage. However, I believe that our proposal will meet with a positive response. The GDR comrades are already pondering our proposal; we are aware of their provisional interest. I hope that our Polish partners will also be similarly interested. Without ecological engineering it will be impossible to make further progress in improving the environment. What I have in mind is, in particular, the production of purification equipment, which the CSSR is capable of manufacturing with good quality. We also have small hydroelectric power plants, and so forth. We in Czechoslovakia would like to invest mainly in the water economy, in order to have as many pure sources of water as possible. But a dusty environment also bothers us. We plan to limit the extraction of coal and make up for this with natural gas, so that we would not have to extract, and especially burn, coal with a large content of sulfur dioxide and thus pollute the environment. However, we are also interested in cooperation with Western partners, in cooperating with them in the manufacture of top-of-the-range ecology-related equipment. We are taking all this into account in carrying out the structural changes now under way in our country. We want to invest resources mainly in technologies. We have such a program ready. All regional and district national committees have it by now. But we will all have to commit ourselves to it.

[RUDE PRAVO] Technologies are gradually being modernized. However, can a marked improvement occur in the ecological sphere without people changing their attitude toward this problem?

[Adamec] This is a serious problem. The effectiveness of the national economy cannot be ensured to the detriment of the environment. Unfortunately, this used to be the case in our country. Pollution of waters, the atmosphere, forests, or soil cannot and must not have any place here. At the same time we must achieve a state in which effectiveness will not disturb ecology, and ecology will not disturb effectiveness. For us the agreement is a great commitment, as well as a test of how we will cope. This will not be easy, because some of our ranking economic personnel ignored ecological problems at times and thought that the fulfillment of economic tasks was the most important task. But I believe that there will be a change.

At a recent session of the National Front I had the opportunity to hear the standpoints of the individual political parties, as well as social organizations, to hear what actions they had prepared for the protection of the environment. It is a valuable program which fills me with optimism. Our party, too, devotes great attention to environmental issues. This fall the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee will hold a special session on environmental and ecological issues. In the CSSR we have realistic prerequisites for achieving marked progress and improvement in that respect.

Answering other questions L. Adamec said:

We do not conceal the fact that in the areas bordering on the GDR and the Polish People's Republic we have a number of sources which pollute the environment and thus complicate life not only for us, but especially for our neighbors. We signed the agreement, and that means that we want to comply with it and not circumvent it or pay for the damage caused. However, it will require a more earnest approach on our behalf. That means, among other things, paying greater attention to the adopted measures than we have so far been accustomed to. At the same time, however, for us the signing of the agreement also constitutes the continuation of what we started recently. By this I mean our ecological initiatives.

x x x

Ladislav Adamec returned home from his 1-day visit to the Polish People's Republic on 1 July

'Capitalist Crisis' in Eastern Europe Viewed

AU0607123189 Tirana ATA in English
1021 GMT 6 Jul 89

["Speculations With Crisis of Socialism—Expression of Anti-Communism—Article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 6 (ATA)—The more the reforms being applied in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, and elsewhere reveal the failure of the capitalist system established there and the aggravation of its moral, social and economic wounds, the more the bourgeois propaganda seeks to present them as failure of socialism and its crisis, Prof Vangjel Moisiu writes in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT.

Many senior officials of the revisionist countries, speak of crisis of socialism and communism in order to legalize their capitalist reforms. What is happening now in some revisionist countries, as a result of the aggravation of class and inter-ethnic conflicts, the use of police violence, and violation of democratic rights, the economic crisis, and its numerous aspects and consequences, testify to the operation of the laws of the capitalist order established there. The capitalist degeneration in the Soviet Union and the other revisionist countries is an anti-historic process that led to the establishment of the state monopoly capital. Perestroyka seeks to modify this bureaucratic system of centralized capitalism through reforms that instigate and enliven private order, forms of private economy.

All the negative processes occurring in the Soviet Union, China and elsewhere, the author points out, are not difficulties or stresses of socialism as a doctrine and social order, but phenomena of the crisis of capitalism. They are not linked at all with the laws of socialism, because this order is long since undermined in those countries. Genuine socialism and its doctrine does not create and instigate bureaucratism and degradation, does not impair democracy and democratic freedoms, or the intellectual creative abilities, it does not create an ideological gap, does not revive nationalistic or chauvinistic excesses. Socialism establishes correct relations, social equality, it creates a reliable order, without exploitation, stresses, and tragic trauma, that are co-travellers of the capitalist order.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie intentionally identify Marxism with modern revisionism and they try to present the failures of the latter as crisis and failures of Marxism-Leninism. In fact, it is the capitalist revisionist system that is swept over by a general socioeconomic crisis at large proportions. Now in the anticommunist crusade are united all the forces of the bourgeoisie and revisionism. The political-philosophical revisionist literature, particularly that in the Soviet Union, is more and more openly showing that the evils that Stalin was made responsible for, stem from the very concept of socialism given by the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the designs of socialism elaborated by Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

The Gorbachev clique, the article stresses, has launched a general attack against all the principles and basic laws lying in the foundations of the socialist order and that distinguished it from the bourgeois one. It is aimed at the basic Marxist concept on socialism as an order that relies on the social ownership of the means of production and the planned running of economy, paving the road to private capitalism, investments of foreign capital, joint ventures, etc.

The example of revolutionary development and great achievements of socialist Albania are an expression of the revival of the theory and practice of scientific socialism, which on the other hand, testifies to the failures of the revisionist concepts and practices, the article stresses in conclusion.

Commentary on Soviet Interethnic Conflicts

AU0707114589 Tirana ATA in English
0945 GMT 7 Jul 89

["Crisis of the Interethnic Relations and of Perestroyka"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 7 (ATA)—Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carried an article by the journalist Shaban Murati, which says:

It is difficult to find at present in the Soviet Union a sharper crisis than that of interethnic relations. The geography of this crisis is extended from the Baltic republics to those of Central Asia. It forced Gorbachev not to wait til the extraordinary plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the party on the national question be held, but appear on the TV with a long speech, which was more like a desperate appeal.

Why did Gorbachev undertake this step? First, he was obliged to do it because the crisis of the interethnic relations is becoming one of the main hearths of the shakings and discredit of his perestroyka. Secondly, the Soviet leader is disturbed also for the problem of his political power, especially now when he is in the main stages of the reform of the political system, which is leading to the consolidation and concentration of power in his hands. The disturbed situation in the republics and regions shakes this consolidation. Third, Gorbachev is worried because the interethnic internal upsets badly discredit the perestroyka and his "new political thinking" on the international arena.

The Soviet leader seeks to camouflage the true character of the crisis of thei interethnic relations, limiting simply in "hearths of interethnic clashes" or bringing forth as a reason simply "the intolerance" and "instigation of certain people." Gorbachev left aside the real causes of this crisis of interethnic relations, because he cannot

admit that those are wounds of the capitalist system restored in the Soviet Union following Khruschev's advent to power, that they have become sharper due to the unjust repressive policy followed by the Khruschevite leaders on the national question.

The only concrete thing said by the Soviet leader on the stand to be maintained by the Kremlin on this crisis is the use of violence and force by the central power, as the only element of unity of the multinational community. On the political and philosophical plane the Soviet leader again set forth the condition of "ethnic merging." That is, for the sake of the ethnic merging the various ethnic peoples and nations, minorities, should forget their national identity and consciousness.

The crisis of the interethnic relations in the Soviet Union is also the crisis of perestroyka. Its dynamic aggravation makes evident in the eyes of the internal Soviet public opinion and of the international one, how powerless and incapable perestroyka is.

Alia Greets Mongolia's Batmonh on National Day

AU1007192789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following greetings telegram to Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic:

The celebration of the national day of the Mongolian People's Republic gives me the opportunity to send you greetings and sincere good wishes for the happiness and prosperity of your country in the name of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and on my own behalf.

Meeting on Increasing Foreign Currency Earnings

AU0607082289 Tirana ATA in English 0801 GMT 6 Jul 89

["National Meeting for Further Strengthening Foreign Currency Balance Through the Non-Stop Increase of Exports"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 6 (ATA)—The Council of Ministers organized on July 5 a national meeting on the problems of further strengthening the foreign currency balance of the country in one of the halls of the Museum of National History. Attending were also Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Hekuran Isai, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee; Besnik Bekteshi, member of the Political Bureau and minister of heavy and mining industries and of energy; Qirjako Mihali, alternate member of the Political Bureau and general director of the State Bank; Llambi Gegprifti, alternate member of the Political Bureau and chairman of the Executive Committee of Tirana District People's Council, etc.

The report delivered by the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Farudin Hoxha, and the contributions pointed out among the other things that a very important field of the further development of the creative thought of innovators, the working people of science and technique, cadres and specialists regarding the non-stop strengthening of the country's defence potential, is the constant increase of the volume of exports.

The meeting pointed out that in the context of implementing the decisions of the party Central Committee and Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions, a series of results are attained regarding the increase of export articles. In this respect, an important role have played the specialists, innovators and workers of production, who have found various roads to improve constantly the country's foreign currency balance.

Comrade Adil Carcani too spoke at the meeting. He stressed that the possibilities regarding the further increase of the export volume are great. These possibilities are created by the powerful created material-technical base, the powerful technical-scientific potential we possess and the high educational and cultural level of our men, the intensification and qualitative development of innovators' movement, etc.

He voiced the conviction and confidence the party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and Comrade Ramiz Alia personally have in the working people of science, their creative force and revolutionary militancy that just as always, they will shoulder the great tasks set by the party with regard to the further strengthening of the country's foreign currency balance, by increasing uninterruptedly the exports, being swept over in the great movements launched in the context of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland.

Railroad Director Interviewed Before Meeting

AU0907191689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Excerpt] A meeting of the general directors of the railroads of the Balkan countries will be held in Belgrade on 11 and 12 July 1989. A delegation from our country will take part in this meeting, headed by Viktor Abazi, [name as heard] general director of the railroads.

Before his departure for Belgrade, Viktor Abazi gave an interview to our correspondent.

[Begin Abazi recording] The purpose of this meeting, which was recommended at the meeting of the transportation ministers in Belgrade that took place last year, is to exchange views and examine opportunities of better exploiting the Balkan countries' rail network, and its

potential as an important field for cooperation among the countries of our region. This meeting should arrive at and determine a concrete program for possible ways to promote cooperation among the railroads of the Balkan countries. More than 8 months have elapsed since the meeting of the transportation ministers, and we have acted on the recommendations made there, both for our domestic and international transportation. In the context of the meeting of the general directors, and in implementation of the recommendations laid down in the communique of the transportation ministers' meeting, we have taken certain steps. For example, in cooperation with the Yugoslav railroads, further measures have been taken to improve the organization of the movement of trains on the Bajze-Tuzi border railroad. Preliminary consultations have been held over the possibility of reaching a Balkan territorial railroad agreement, with favorable tariffs; We welcome the initiatives of other railroads for cooperation in the field of standardization in railroad practices, and our organization will take other measures in the field of railroad cooperation. [End recording] [passage omitted]

Census Gives Population Total, Minorities Size

AU0907134389 Tirana ATA in English
0916 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Tirana, July 9 (ATA)—From April 2 to 8, 1989, the general census of population was made throughout the territory of our country. On its basis, the population of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania amounted to 3,182,417 inhabitants on April 2, 1989.

Population has grown by 591,800 inhabitants between the two censuses, at an average annual growth of 57,800 inhabitants. The average annual growth of population per every 1,000 inhabitants over the last decade has been 20.1 people. On a national scale, in the city live 35.5 percent of the population and in countryside 64.5 percent. According to gender, males hold 51.5 percent, whereas females 48.5 percent.

On April 2, 1989, population of non-Albanian nationality was 64,816 inhabitants, equal to 2 percent of the population of our country. Out of this, 58,758 inhabitants are of Greek nationality, 4,697 Macedonian, 100 Montenegrin, Serb, Croatian, etc., and 1,261 inhabitants of other nationalities.

The normal development of demographic processes is an expression of the correct policy of the party and the care of the people's power, which has in the center of all the socioeconomic development of our country, the working man with his diversified material and cultural needs.

Economic Progress Report for 2-8 July

AU0807191289

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 2 and 8 July carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Durres District: The 6-month export plan has been prefulfilled. (1800 GMT 3 Jul 89)

Gjirokaster District: The 6-month industrial production plan has been exceeded by 1 percent and the export plan by 3 percent. (1800 GMT 4 Jul 89)

Librazhd District: The 6-month industrial production plan has been fulfilled and the export plan exceeded. (1800 GMT 3 Jul 89)

Pogradec District: The 6-month industrial production plan has been overfulfilled by 8 million leks. (1800 GMT 3 Jul 89)

Sarande District: The 6-month industrial production plan has been fulfilled by 105.3 percent. (1800 GMT 6 Jul 89)

Tirana District: The overall industrial production plan for the 6-month period was overfulfilled by 22 million leks. (1600 GMT 6 Jul 89)

Tropoje District: The 6-month industrial production plan was prefulfilled by 3 days. (1800 GMT 8 Jul 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances Reported 1-7 Jul

AU0707155889

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 1 and 7 July reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Adil Carcani, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Rita Marko, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, AWP CC Politburo members; Qirjako Mihali, Pirro Kondi, and Llambi Gegprifti, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, attended a folk music concert in Tirana on 2 July. (1800 GMT 2 Jul 89)

Adil Carcani, Hekuran Isai, Besnik Bekteshi, Qirjako Mihali, and Llambi Gegprifti attended a national aktiv on foreign currency earnings in Tirana on 5 July. (1800 GMT 5 Jul 89)

Llambi Gegprifti, AWP CC Politburo candidate member, attended the celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the 15th Assault Brigade in Pogradec on 2 July. (1800 GMT 2 Jul 89)

Zhivkov Addresses Diplomats at Dinner in Smolyan
AU1107085489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jul 89 pp 1,4

[Excerpts] Smolyan, 5 July [RABOTNICHESKO DELO special correspondent Petur Bochukov and oblast correspondent Mikhail Kulishev]—Today Smolyan welcomed honored guests in a sunny and festive atmosphere. The municipality hosted the traditional meeting between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the leaders of the diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

A concert program was performed in the evening in the Rhodope Drama Theater, a true architectural masterpiece.

Following the concert, State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov gave a dinner in honor of the leaders of the diplomatic missions accredited to Bulgaria and their spouses. At the dinner Comrade Zhivkov and Egon Rommel, doyen of the diplomatic corps and GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, presented toasts. (We publish resumes of the speechs supplied by BTA)

On behalf of the State Council and the Council of Ministers and on his own name, Comrade Todor Zhivkov most cordially welcomed those taking part in this traditional meeting. We regard these meetings not as an official protocol event, but as an occasion and opportunity to exchange thoughts and ideas in an unconstrained atmosphere, he said.

Thanks to the kind and insistent invitation of the leaders and workers of the Smolyan region, we are visiting one of the most beautiful and, in the literal sense, totally transformed regions of our native land, the chairman of the State Council stated. In reminding his audience that in-depth restructuring is being carried out in Bulgaria in all spheres of life, he pointed out that this restructuring cannot and must not be a negation of everything achieved in the past but, quite the converse, it must form a continuation and development of the latter under the new domestic and international conditions. The first results of restructuring are substantial and encouraging. They inspire us with confidence and optimism.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov spoke of the great importance of the company-based organization and the new forms of management. These, together with the new positions of the territorial communities, form a reliable material base for expanding the processes of democratization in society. He emphasized the importance of the decisions of the December [1987] Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] on restructuring in all spheres of live and implementation of the July Concept. The State Council chairman stressed that all this is being carried out based on the law, with the granting of immense power to those places where people live and work.

We take account of the fact that we are still at the beginning, and that the main things lie ahead of us, he said. We are realists and know that we will not find it easy, that on the road toward the new we will encounter the unknown and will meet obstacles that we must overcome.

The state leader pointed out that no advance can be achieved unless it is placed on a democratic basis. In this context, he stated that the amendments that will be made to the Constitution must guarantee the democratic nature of the changes.

Speaking about the committees of social forces now being set up in the municipalities and townships, he emphasized that the BCP and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union provide their motive force. These basic political forces in Bulgaria have been set up as a result of the Bulgarian people's long years of struggle for prosperity and justice.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated that the principles and goals of restructuring in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria coincide. We had an opportunity to convince ourselves of this during the recent talks with the Soviet leadership and Mikhail Gorbachev, he stated.

Touching upon certain issues of foreign policy, the State Council chairman pointed out that interdependence between states is acquiring qualitatively new dimensions in the conditions of the world's new historical content. In today's interconnected and interdependent world no state is in a position to solve the questions of its own development and its own security by itself. Now not only the socialist countries are restructuring, but restructuring is under way in Europe and throughout the world. This is the soil in which the new political thinking has arisen as a philosophy of survival and progress, this is only the platform upon which contemporary international relations can and must be built. We unconditionally support the new political thinking, and this is the position taken by all honest politicians in the West and the East, by all people who sincerely serve the cause of peace.

For us as a state and a people, peace and stability, trust and cooperation represent lasting national requirements and an unchanging international responsibility. This is why our country is taking an active part in the common European process.

We especially support good relations with the neighboring countries, the State Council chairman emphasized. In the future we will continue to do everything that is required of us to strengthen security, understanding, and cooperation in the Balkans. There is no problem that cannot be resolved between us and our neighbors. We have experience available in this respect, positive and instructive experience.

In concluding his speech, Comrade Todor Zhivkov noted that Bulgaria highly assesses the contribution made by the leaders of the diplomatic missions toward developing the relations between our country and the states that they represent. [passage omitted]

Zhivkov-Led Delegation Returns From Bucharest

AU0807130389 Sofia BTA in English 1212 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 8 (BTA)—Bulgaria's delegation headed by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, returned today from Bucharest. It took part in the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member States.

BTA Assesses Results of Warsaw Pact Summit

AU0907185189 Sofia BTA in English 1720 GMT 9 Jul 89

["The Socialist States' Policy Impact"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 9 (BTA Commentator Georgi Todorov)—The meeting of the first party and state leaders of the socialist countries—Warsaw Treaty member-states opened a new stage in the development of their common concept for constructive approach to all cardinal problems of our time. This was clearly expressed in the adopted documents of the session: The communique and the declaration "For Stable and Secure Europe, Free of Nuclear and Chemical Weapons, for Considerable Reduction of the Armed Forces, Armaments and Military Expenses".

The documents and the two-day discussion in Bucharest stressed the active role of the policy of the European socialist states for the achievement of positive changes in the international situation, for lessening of the tension and the possibilities for confrontation, for strengthening confidence and the development of the political dialogue.

The journalists and the observers left Bucharest with the conviction that the 7 Warsaw Treaty member states consider as their historical duty and task of their diplomacy to broaden further the mechanism depending on them for the strengthening of the world peace, for the freeing of mankind from the nuclear threat, for broader mutually advantageous cooperation, for the establishing of a durable and functional international economic order.

In the same spirit the session expressed the conviction in the impact of the socialist ideas, the importance of transformations carried out by their peoples: With a stress on the need of improvement and innovation of the political and economic system, on the raising of the well being of the working people, for the guaranteeing of full and unconditional rights of each individual in the name of the future generations.

The need of further deepening of the cooperation and solidarity between the Warsaw Treaty member states on the base of equality and mutual respect in interest of their peoples and world peace was also stressed at the session.

What remains now is the partner from the "opposite side", or as it is pointed out in the communique the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to support the idea for "nonconfrontation relations, for establishing of constructive dialogue on political and military line..." in the name of security and cooperation in the continent.

BCP-CPSU Cooperation in Restructuring Viewed

AU1007123589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Jul 89 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed commentary: "People's Republic of Bulgaria-USSR—Together in Restructuring"]

[Text] "The strategic course of restructuring in the USSR and the strategic course of restructuring in Bulgaria coincide. This is the guarantee that even better conditions of expanding our mutual cooperation will be created in the future." Those words of Comrade Todor Zhivkov determine the character of cooperation between our two countries during the years of profound transformations in the political, economic, and intellectual areas. The readiness of the two fraternal Communist Parties to expand and strengthen their mutual relations has exceptional importance for achieving those inspired mutual goals. The adherence of our party and all people to this strategic course was again confirmed by the high assessment given by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] to the results of the working meeting and talks of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The fundamental coincidence of the directions, goals, and tasks of restructuring has a decisive importance in developing our relations at the new stage of restructuring.

Today the BCP and the CPSU are implementing bold and scientifically-based new approaches and are turning restructuring into our peoples' consciousness and willingness. As truly revolutionary parties they appeal to the Communists and working people to struggle to achieve the historical goals and tasks. Therefore through restructuring socialism will acquire most modern forms of social organization, and will most fully express its humane character.

The BCP Central Committee July Plenum adopted a broad program of revolutionary changes. This process is constantly gaining momentum in our country and becoming the cause of millions of people. Therefore we

greet with satisfaction the conclusion on the fundamental coincidence in the goals of restructuring, because this is the guarantee of the dynamics and efficiency of our bilateral cooperation in all areas.

Connected by indestructible and ancient friendship our peoples are marching and will also march shoulder to shoulder during the stage of restructuring. Traditional fraternal friendship, our inmost asset, is the "cornerstone along the road toward constructing socialist Bulgaria as a modern, highly developed, and civilized state." During the years of socialist construction friendship and alliance with the USSR are for us, Bulgarians, a source of power and confidence in the success of our common cause. Therefore the Communists and the entire Bulgarian people greet with deep satisfaction the results of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's working meeting in Moscow.

Today both the USSR and Bulgaria are seeking and applying new approaches toward better utilizing the potential of socialism and its advantages for developing the processes of renewal in all spheres of political, economic, social, and intellectual life. Under these qualitative conditions the BCP Central Committee Politburo specifically draws attention to the importance of jointly developing a new model of cooperation in accordance with the modern objective realities, possibilities, and needs. This issue occupied an important place in the talks in Moscow between the first leaders of the two fraternal parties. These important issues now will be worked out by the party, state, economic, and public organs. This is our investment in the future and our look toward the coming century.

Our people decisively support the USSR peaceful strategy and its broad-scale foreign policy initiatives for a safe, nuclear-free, and violence-free world, and for asserting the new political thinking. We have a single common strategy—peace must be achieved and human civilization must be protected.

The meeting in Moscow between Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, impressively outlined the common interest of the two parties in the success of implementing the profound reforms. The meeting again confirmed the great role of fraternal relations between the BCP and the CPSU and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR—a factor of exceptional importance in the process of restructuring in the two countries.

GDR Premier Stoph Awarded Bulgarian Order

AU0807172789 Sofia BTA in English
1702 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 8 (BTA)—The State Council of Bulgaria awarded Willi Stoph, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, with the "13 Centuries of Bulgaria" Order for his contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security, for his services to the broadening and deepening of the friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic, and in connection with his 75th anniversary.

BCP Sends Message of Condolence on Kadar Death

AU1007210289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party has sent the following message to the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party:

Esteemed comrades,

Please accept our most sincere condolences on the death of Comrade Janos Kadar.

The Communists and all working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will cherish the memory of Janos Kadar as a noted party and state leader of the Hungarian People's Republic, a prominent figure of the international communist and workers' movement, and a fighter for Bulgarian-Hungarian friendship.

Please convey our deepest condolences to the relatives of Comrade Janos Kadar.

Hungarian Foreign Minister To Visit in July

AU1007135589 Sofia BTA in English
1349 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 10 (BTA)—At the invitation of Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, Mr Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs of Hungary, will pay a friendly working visit to Bulgaria in the second half of July 1989.

Canadian Party Leader Discusses Restructuring

AU0707183689 Sofia BTA in English
1730 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 7 (BTA)—Mr George Hewison, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC), told a BTA reporter that the talks he had had in Sofia had been a success for both parties. A shared desire had been expressed to strengthen and intensify inter-party ties, which is a must under the new conditions, he said.

Mr George Hewison stressed the influence of restructuring in the socialist countries on the struggle of the Communist Party of Canada and on the life of the international communist and workers movement. New political thinking affects favourably the struggle of the Canadian people for social liberation. Life in the country shows that a change is coming over the peace movement. Visible changes are taking place internationally, too. Different views have emerged on socialism as a socio-political systems. It should be clearly understood, however, that this involves corrections in the development of socialism and

not its rejection, said the leader of the Communist Party of Canada. What matters most at this stage is the extent to which Communists all over the world will be able to assess things correctly, because their tactics will depend on this. The socialist world's potential should by no means be underrated, nor should imperialism be glorified and its problems minimized. The guest said that, coming from an advanced capitalist state, he realizes that these problems are considerable [words indistinct] growing. "We will make a serious mistake if we lean back and wait to see what Mikhail Gorbachev will do", he said.

At the recent Paris conference on the human dimension of the CSCE process, the Canadian delegate leveled invectives at Bulgaria on the human rights issue. Mr George Hewison said that this position has nothing to do with the view of the Communist Party of Canada and of the Canadian people, with the opinion of the ordinary people. This line of conduct has been adopted for two reasons: The close economic integration with the U.S., which has turned Canada into Washington's envoy, and the militarization of the Canadian economy, complete with propaganda of the "terrible enemy image".

Canada has no right to lecture the world on the observance of human rights, said the CCP leader. Red Indian students are holding a hunger strike in the country, and the authorities imprison trade union members who try to organize the workers, and do not intend to allow the francophones in Quebec to decide their own problems. 25,000 homeless people sleep in the streets of Toronto,and infant mortality in some parts of Canada is much higher than the country's average level. The Canadian Government overlooked all these acts in Paris and thus discredited its own people and the whole world.

Hewison Meets Balev, Stanishev

AU0807173089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, George Hewison, secretary general of the Communist Party of Canada, has been on a short working visit to Bulgaria. He held meetings and talks with Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev.

The visitor was acquainted with the contents, chief directions, successes, and difficulties in implementing the party's July Concept for the revolutionary restructuring of all spheres of social life in Bulgaria, and with our party's views concerning the new historical content of the contemporary period.

The visitor gave a briefing on the processes of renewal in the Communist Party of Canada, and on the fulfillment of the decisions of the 27th Communist Party of Canada Conference.

During the talks, ideas and views were exchanged on the role and tasks of the communists in the struggle for peace and social progress in the changing realities in the world.

The visitor departed from Bulgaria today.

Army Cooperation Discussed With SFRY General

AU1007124489 Sofia BTA in English 1226 GMT 10 Jul 89

["Bulgaria-Yugoslavia: Defence Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 10 (BTA)—Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of National Defence and chief of staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, and Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, had a working meeting on July 8 and 9 at the Strezimirovtsi border checkpoint. They discussed the inter-Army cooperation between the two countries and its further enhancement and expansion.

Dzhurov Greets Military Spartakiade Participants

AU1007133589 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 6 Jul 89 pp 1, 4

["Greetings Message of Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, to the participants in the Seventh Summer Spartakiade of the Friendly Armies"]

[Text] Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, and all Bulgarian people I most cordially and sincerely greet you on your participation in the Seventh Summer Spartakiade of the Friendly Armies.

The constant upsurge of the physical culture and sport in the countries of the socialist community is first of all the result of the attention to man and the conditions that have been created for the comprehensive development of the personality. Especially favorable conditions have been created for military sport. They are the result of the attention directed toward the physical perfection of the soldiers, and the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member countries, based on the defense of peace and progress in the planet—a goal that is very close to the vocation of sport.

From the historical point of view, sport has been firmly connected with military life throughout the centuries. This is so because the qualities developed by sports—high combat ability, rapid adaptation to any conditions, and strong determination to win—are characteristic of every well-organized army. Socialism added to those factors other essential characteristics, such as patriotism, internationalism, richer mentality, and higher ethics. Sport convincingly demonstrates in our friendly Armies its favorable influence over forming human personality. The

successes of the most famous military athletes at the Olympic Games, and the world and other championships, received an impressive public response and recognition.

The military sport in the People's Republic of Bulgaria is developing along an ascending line under the constant care of the BCP. This was asserted by the decisions and documents of the 13th BCP Congress, the BCP National Conference, and the BCP Central Committee July Plenum on restructuring in the intellectual field, as well as expressed by the comprehensive help and assistance of all Bulgarian people, rendered to the Organizational Committee during the preparations for the Seventh Summer Spartakiade of the Friendly Armies.

The athletes and all soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are deeply satisfied with the high honor of hosting the participants in the holiday of military sports. I believe that in Sofia, Plovdiv, Sliven, Varna, and Razgrad—the cities hosting the competitions—you will have pleasant meetings with our working people and will experience traditional Bulgarian hospitality. Thus you will remember your stay in our sunny motherland with your successful sports achievements and many new friends and comrades-in-arms. We fiercely desire that the Seventh Summer Spartakiade, which is taking place under the slogan "Sport For United And Peaceful World," become not only the regular festival of the inexhaustible potential of military sports and our fraternal friendship, but also a bridge for forging contacts and building confidence among the representatives of the Armed Forces from other countries. Sport must assert itself as an important factor in strengthening mutual relations, cooperation, and friendship among nations. Thus the power of our peaceful policy and the vitality of our manner of life, and the new political thinking and acting will triumph.

Comrades,

You are facing a serious test in your sports competitions. I wish you all good health, success, and new records!

Fatherland Front Veteran Angel Shishkov Dies
AU0107181689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] After a long and serious illness, Angel Shishkov, active fighter against fascism and capitalism, an eminent figure in the Fatherland Front, Hero of Socialist Labor, and National Assembly deputy, has died.

The obituary, which is signed by Todor Zhivkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Pencho Kubadinski, Ivan Panev, Stanko Todorov, Dimitur Dimitrov, Yaroslav Radev, Svetla Daskalova, and Lazar Stamboliev, states that with the death of Angel Shishkov, our people are losing an active builder of socialism, an authoritative public and state figure, a modest and dedicated Bulgarian.

The Fatherland Front National Council also issued an obituary.

Homage to the mortal remains of the deceased will be paid in the Funeral Hall of the Central Sofia Cemetery at 1130 hours on Monday 3 July.

State Council Issues Decree on UN Convention
AU1007205989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jul 89 p 2

["Extract from DURZHAVEN VESTNIK"]

[Text] DURZHAVEN VESTNIK No 52 carried a State Council Decree No 1246 of 28 June 1989. The decree withdraws the reservation made by our country on section 30 of Article 8 of the UN Convention on Privileges and Immunities.

On the basis of Decree No 81 of 27 February 1960, our country joined the UN Convention on Privileges and Immunities, making the reservation that it does not consider itself bound by the provision included in section 30 of the convention, and presenting its relevant considerations. Now the reservation has been withdrawn. This means that our country has fully joined the convention, without any reservations.

Bulgarian Culture Congress Scheduled for November
AU0107204589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] At a joint session of the Committee of Culture, the Supreme Educational Council, the Council of Higher Education, and the Presidiums of the Academy of Sciences, the Agricultural Academy, and the Bulgarian Medical Academy, a program was discussed and adopted on the Bulgaria's participation in the universal decade of developing culture 1988-1997.

At the session, chaired by Comrade Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science, and education, it was decided to hold a Congress of Culture, Science, and Education scheduled for 15, 16, and 17 November 1989.

Results of 6-Month Plan Implementation Published
AU1007192989 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 10 Jul 89

["Basic Indices Show Fulfillment of Plan For First Six Months of the Year "—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 10 (BTA)—Representative of the BTA visited the Central Statistical Board and became informed about the results of the fulfillment of the plan for the first six months of 1989. In the talk with the leadership it became clear that the work during the half year has ended successfully and the plan is fulfilled according to the basic indices.

The preliminary results of the economic activity show that 49.5 per cent of the planned annual goods production has been turned out in the major sectors. Besides that the plan

for most of the major industrial goods has been overfulfilled and for a number of them the fulfillment is over 50 per cent of the annual task. Such are the results in the production of electric energy, steel pipes, soda ash, mineral fertilizers, chemical fibres and silks, complete automated lines for assembly, precise lathes, toading machines, meat products, vegetable alimentary oils, sugar, ready and semi-ready foods, silk and cotton fabrics, tailoring articles, shoes, sanitary ceramics, furniture, etc.

During the first half year there is a growth in all qualitative and quantitative indices. The social productivity of labour has increased 9.1 per cent while the average working salary by 2.4 per cent.

The agricultural organizations have turned out more produce than in the first six months of last year.

The home market is provided with 10 per cent more goods of local production and imports while retail goods exchange has increased almost 7-fold.

Suicides Under Emigration Pressure Reported

AU0707124889 Sofia BTA in English 1216 GMT 7 Jul 89

["Legal Protection and Material Support"—BTA headline]

[Text] Silistra, July 7 (BTA)—A number of Bulgarian nationals who do not want to be passive fulfillers of other's will and to leave for Turkey turn to the bodies of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Prosecutor's Office for protection.

"I am of age and I can decide by myself where to study, to work and live", writes to the Silistra Prosecutor's Office an 18-year-old girl from the village of Boil. Her parents want to take her to Turkey forcibly. She had graduated an agricultural technical college and wants to continue her studies in higher school. Another girl has found shelter with her friend. A mother of two children has left the family of her husband and together with her children lives in the home for the aged where she works.

"Such things happen more often recently", said, before the BTA correspondent, the district attorney Nencho Nenchev. "There are also a lot of minors who look for legal protection. According to the family code, the prosecutor's office can lay claims against the parents for stripping them of parental rights or limiting their parental rights. In all cases, we act according to the requirements of the law. Measures have been undertaken to provide normal living conditions for these people. According to their needs, the people under age will receive homes and support money so that they can complete their education. The Silistra Municipal Council has already issued resolution [as received] on these questions".

One has to make his choice by himself. Sometimes this turns into a tragedy. The suicide is not a way out, but some people in a state of deep depression have chosen it. Bogdana Raynova of Tutrakan (mother of two), Serafim Ruschukliev of the same city, Khristina Angelova of the village of Zlatokos (mother of three), Aleksi Sharbanov of the village of Okorsh, all of them have committed suicide.

"There is no trace of violence in all of the cases", emphasises the district attorney of Silistra. "The suicides have left letters or have made statements while alive that they do not want to leave for Turkey. Most of them were young people. All Bulgarian citizens have legal guarantees. They receive moral and material support".

Bank Official on Introduction of New Coins

AU1007123689

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 6 July on page 3 carries an 800-word interview with Rozalina Natseva, "general director for money circulation at the Bulgarian National Bank," by Ivan Ivanov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO reporter, entitled: "Ring of Big Coins,"—date, place not given.

The interviews deals with the new 20- and 50-leva coins that have been introduced. Natseva stresses that "the new coins are a regular means of payment, precisely as all other coins that are in circulation."

Natseva points out the expanded financial turnover, "which has increased 5 times," as the first reason for introducing the new coins. To this she adds the following:

"On the other hand, in connection with the new Law on the Foreign Travel Passports in our country a certain part of the Bulgarian Muslims are utilizing their right to freely travel abroad. Along with the other problems created by their departure to neighboring Turkey, the intensified withdrawal of money, the closing of their bank accounts, and the selling of their cattle creates a certain tension in the available money circulation." Natseva asserts that "in such cases it is normal that larger denominations of money are introduced in circulation," and gives examples of other countries in which the use of large-value coins is a normal procedure.

Story of Wife of Bulgarian Victim of Stalinism

AU1007205089

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 27, on 5 July on pages 9 and 10, carries a 2,800-word "documentary tale" by Pencho Kovachev entitled "Siberian Memories."

Kovachev describes the story of Roza Khaimova Buchvarova, wife of General Krum Buchvarov, "the first Bulgarian general and professor in the Soviet Army." The activity of the Buchvarov family in Bulgaria, prior to their escape to the USSR, as well as their studies and work in them USSR, are outlined. The circumstances of Buchvarov's arrest in 1936 are described, as well the destiny of Roza Buchvarova and her son after the trial of her husband, who subsequently died in one of Siberia's camps.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 29 Jun-7 Jul

AU0707145489

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the period from 1500 GMT on 30 June through 1500 GMT on 7 July report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The following leaders took part in the traditional annual meeting of Todor Zhivkov with members of the diplomatic corps, which opened in Smolyan on 5 July: Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Andrey Lukanov, Petur Mladenov, Dimitur Stanishev, and Georgi Yordanov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 5 Jul 89)

Todor Zhivkov, together with Georgi Atanasov, held a meeting in Smolyan on 5 July with the leadership of the municipality. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 5 Jul 89)

The following leaders departed from Sofia on 6 July to attend the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest: Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, Dobri Dzhurov, Petur Mladenov, and Dimitur Stanishev. (Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 6 Jul 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, met in Sofia on 30 June with the delegations to the session of the International Foundations for Mankind's Survival and Development. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 30 Jun 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, held final talks in Sofia on 30 June with GDR Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph, (Sofia BTA in English 1657 GMT 30 Jun 89) and then saw Stoph off at Sofia Airport. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 30 Jun 89) In Sofia on 3 July, Atanasov received the heads of delegations from churches and religious organizations attending the celebrations marking the 250th anniversary of the birth of Sofroniy Vrachanski. (Sofia BTA in English 1755 GMT 3 Jul 89) In Sofia on 4 July, Atanasov received Klaus Topfer, FRG minister of the environment, nature conservation, and reactor safety. (Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 4 Jul 89) In Sofia on 6 July, Atanasov received Minister Franciszek Gajek, chief of Poland's Central Planning Agency. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Jul 89)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, had a meeting in Sofia on 4 July with a Brazilian parliamentary delegation led by Dazo Cimbra. (Sofia BTA in English 1831 GMT 4 Jul 89)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, departed from Sofia on 29 July for Pyongyang to attend the 18th World Festival of Youth and Students. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Jun 89 p 6) In Pyongyang on 3 July, he was received by Kil Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the DPRK. (Sofia BTA in English 1414 GMT 3 Jul 89)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, held final talks in Bonn on 30 June, (Sofia BTA in English 1818 GMT 30 Jun 89) and returned to Sofia the same day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 30 Jun 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, met in Sofia on 4 July with Klaus Topfer, FRG minister of the environment, nature conservation, and reactor safety. (Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 4 Jul 89) and also attended a National Day reception given by the U.S. Ambassador Sol Polansky in Sofia. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 4 Jul 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, signed a cooperation protocol in Sofia on 6 July with Minister Franciszek Gajek, chief of Poland's Central Planning Agency. (Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 6 Jul 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, attended an national educational conference in Vratsa on 3 July on the coming academic year. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 3 Jul 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia a delegation of lecturers from the CPSU Central Committee during their visit to Bulgaria from 21 through 30 June. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 30 Jun 89)

Jakes Holds Talks With Polish Trade Union Chief
LD1107230889 Prague CTK in English
1555 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes received here today Alfred Miodowicz, member of the Polish United Workers' Party Politburo and chairman of the Polish National Trade Union Accord.

In cordial, comradely talks, the two representatives informed each other of the present development of the internal situation in Czechoslovakia and Poland and of the political lines of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party. The talks centred upon the place and role of trade unions in the process of restructuring, the implementation of economic reforms and the democratization of political and public life.

PAP on Miodowicz, Jakes Talks
LD1107083489 Warsaw PAP in English
1956 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Prague, July 10—A delegation of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) led by PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Political Bureau member and OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz, paid a working visit there today at the invitation from member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee and Chairman of the Czechoslovak Council of Trade Unions Miroslav Zavadil.

The OPZZ delegation met also the Secretariat of the Prague-based World Federation of Trade Unions.

At the end of his visit here, Alfred Miodowicz was received by General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Milos Jakes. The talk focused on the development of the domestic situation in both countries and parties, and on the role of trade unionists in the process of restructuring, reforms and democratization.

Issues of River Pollution Discussed With Poland
AU0407154889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
30 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Czechoslovak-Polish Talks on Border Waterways"]

[Text] Ostrava—Government commissioners of the CSSR and the Polish People's Republic [PPR] for water management issues at border waterways, held a meeting in Silherovice near Ostrava.

The commissioners discussed preparations for a joint excercise of CSSR and PPR emergency units on the River Odra. The exercise is slated for October and will cope with crude oil accidents. They also assessed the possibility of complementing the implementation agreement on the water quality of important border waterways, stipulations for mutual compensation of costs connected with coping with and eliminating extraordinary pollution of the border waterways, and other issues.

Husak Sends Condolences on Gromyko Death
AU0607160189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Jul 89 p 1

[CTK report: "A Telegram of Condolences From the CSSR President"]

[Text] Prague—Gustav Husak, the CSSR president, has sent Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a telegram of condolences in connection with the death of Andrey Gromyko.

Jakes, Husak Convey Condolences on Kadar Death
AU1007123989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
7 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] Prague (zr)—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, and CSSR President Gustav Husak have sent the following telegram of condolences to Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]; Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary; and Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic:

Esteemed comrades: The Czechoslovak Communists and our people were deeply moved to hear of the death of Janos Kadar, longstanding representative of the MSZMP, patriot, and internationalist.

Janos Kadar was a communist who devoted his energy to the cause of socialism and the interests of the Hungarian people. He significantly contributed to the strengthening of the unity of and cooperation among the socialist countries and of the solidarity of the communist parties and progressive forces in the struggle for mankind's just and peaceful future.

His name is connected with an important stage of the development of mutual relations between the CPCZ and the MSZMP, the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic. We have held Janos Kadar in high esteem for his lifelong work for socialism, his endeavor to strengthen friendship and cooperation among states and nations.

Esteemed comrades, accept our deepest condolences. Let there be honor to his illustrious memory!

Criticism of Hungarian Minority Policy Cited

AU0507160089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jul 89 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "They Said, They Wrote" column]

[Text] LIDOVE NOVINY [PEOPLE'S DAILY], the weekly of the Democratic Union of Slovaks in Hungary, in its latest issue sums up the results of a session of the Bekecsaba City Council on the national life of the Slovak minority in the city and its surroundings. It was pointed out at the session that "the number of cradles over which Slovak lullabies are sung is constantly declining." The Slovak school in the city is short of the very basic conditions for operation, such as a gym. The integration of villages and the formation of school districts has caused immense damage in villages that are inhabited by ethnic minorities. Citizens of Slovak nationality would welcome the installation of a local television relay station that would allow them to receive the Czechoslovak television program.

Party Officials Visit Dam Construction Project

LD0707223589 Prague CTK in English 1650 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Bratislava July 7 (CTK)—Presidium members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Ivan Knotek, secretary of the Central Committee, and Ignac Janak, first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party, visited today the construction site of the Gabcikovo water power plant, part of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros waters system on the Danube.

They were acquainted with the course of the construction which is going on in harmony with the set timetable, according to which the first turbine is to be put into trial operation in July 1990.

Ivan Knotek told CTK later that, the term set by the government for the completion of the first unit in 1990 can be expected to be fulfilled. This is the more appreciated that the positive results are achieved in complicated political conditions ensuing from the Hungarian side's unilateral suspension of the construction work on the Nagymaros Dam. This naturally gave rise to a lot of questions concerning the usefulness of the project and completion of the Gabcikovo water power plant. We believe that the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water system is one of the most important water-conservancy projects on the Danube which would benefit both states. On our part, we will take every effort for the project to fulfil its mission, Ivan Knotek said.

Presidium, Trade Union Secretariat Hold Session

LD0607211689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] A joint session of the Federal Government Presidium and of the Central Council of Trade Unions Secretariat was held in Prague today.

The members of the two bodies discussed the implementation of the conclusions from the joint session last December, the analysis of wage policy, and the suggestions of measures which would reinforce the principles of paying according to merits and simplifying the system of rewarding, and the draft of principles for amendment of provision of wage preferences. They also discussed the federal government's decree on collective agreements.

They discussed the conclusions of eighth plenary meeting of the Central Council of Trade Unions on the care of the health of working people and the environment.

Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec spoke in detail about experiences in securing the conclusions of the state-wide all-union conference. He said that the system of regular, specific, and efficient cooperation was gradually implemented. He also said that the unified proceeding of government and the unions did not mean that the different positions and the specifications of the style of work were overlooked.

Concerning looking into results, he mentioned the basic issues of wage and price policy, of the standard of supplies to the domestic market, and the state of public passenger transport. He said that these issues were very important and particularly sensitive. The situations in these areas, which have been neglected for a long time, can be rectified only gradually, step by step, in keeping with created conditions.

He also said that, in spite of the problems, certain progress had been noted.

Ladislav Adamec also said that the government was aware that trade unionists and the public did not evaluate its work according to the number of resolutions and declared intentions. He said they demand real results, real advancement, facts. Our common duty is not to disappoint their expectation. The trust of our people in the veracity and honesty of our intentions, and in our ability to thoroughly implement resolutions forms the basic prerequisite for the success of restructuring, said Ladislav Adamec.

Further Reportage on Session

LD0607211789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] A joint session of the Federal Government Presidium and of the Central Council of Trade Unions Secretariat was held in Prague today. [passage omitted]

Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec said in the opening of the session that in spite of many difficulties a certain partial progress had been noted. For example, the worsening of the situation in public transport to work has been halted. The lack of ability to distribute, in a well-thought-out manner, what has been produced, still has an unfavorable impact on the domestic market. It continues to be true that we can consume only what we

have produced. This also applies to earnings that cannot get ahead of the achieved labor productivity. Therefore, the analysis put forward and the draft for the ninth 5-year plan reflect a clear preference for superstructure components of earnings at the expense of cost, and the necessity to eradicate the undesirable differentiation of wages and low wages in the services and in nonproduction sphere.

The governmental decree on collective agreements is closely connected to the issue of fair wage policy.

The discussion participants agreed that this decree, which would be in force from 1 September, 1989, provided, among other things, sufficient space for paying financial rewards for initiative and for work that has actually been completed. The way to real results and to progress rests in searching for methods of efficient production, of creating resources and their distribution to benefit our social policy. Today's joint meeting of the federal government Presidium and of Central Council of Trade Unions Secretariat showed this.

New Party Structure in State Enterprises Noted

AU0407100689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jun 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Party Committees in State Enterprises"]

[Excerpts] Since the start of the restructuring of the production-technical, scientific-research, and distribution base of our national economy, 1,546 state enterprises have been set up. Effective from 1 July, more than 700 additional state enterprises will be set up.

With the extent of the changes in the activity of the new state enterprises, the role of the party organization is increasing as well. For party organizations to be able to discharge their tasks well, the party structure in some enterprises has had to be adjusted. This is why last June the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Secretariat decided to test the activity of new party committees in practice and adopted principles to this end. The main purpose of the establishment of party committees is to create conditions for the consistent application of the leading role of the party, to organize the activity of Communists in enterprise management, in the labor collective's council, and in enterprise bodies of social organizations associated in the National Front. In addition, they coordinate the course of action of all-enterprise, plant, and primary party organizations in individual plants or subdivisions of the enterprise. They do not supervise them, however, since their guidance remains within the authority of territorially based party bodies—that is, district party committees. [passage omitted]

More than a year has elapsed since the formation of the first party committees. A total of 540 of them operate to date. In 690 state enterprises the existing structure of a single primary organization has been retained. This mostly concerns enterprises that were set up by national committees and small, centrally administered enterprises. In 316 enterprises in which there are several primary organizations in a single district, it has proved expedient to retain the plant or all-enterprise party committee. Within the framework of an experiment in the guidance of primary organizations, the party committees of five state enterprises (Czechoslovak Automobile Repair Shops Brno, Ingstav Brno, Slezan Frydek-Mistek, Tatra Koprivnice, and North Bohemian Brown Coal Mines Most) have been granted some of the rights of district party committees.

A total of 6,409 members have been elected to party committees, 40 percent of whom simultaneously hold the post of primary organization chairman or all-enterprise party committee chairman. However, the social structures of the party committees have not always succeeded in reflecting the composition of party members in the state enterprise. When electing new party committees that will come into being after the completion of organizational restructuring, it will therefore be necessary to nominate a greater number of leading workers and employees from the key professions of the preproduction stages, mainly machine designers and technicians.

Party committees have been working for approximately 1 year, which is not a long time. They are acquiring initial experience, looking for their place and shape, and creating their style of work. Initially, they concentrated on cadre provisions for the elections of self-management bodies and directors. Their first and main task was the responsible selection of candidates. However, not all party committees approached this task with a profound knowledge of the specific political situation, on the basis of which they would be able to develop mass political work in labor collectives. Because party committees underestimated many influences, elections had to be repeated in more than one case. [passage omitted]

Although the party committees in state enterprises are only learning how to work, they have a good deal of work behind them. Now it is necessary that they fully project into their own work the conclusions of the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, that at their sessions they provide room for discussion, information from primary organizations, and an exchange of experience, that they decide collectively, and that their conclusions should not be general. [passage omitted]

Slusovice Plans Joint Venture With Vietnam

AU0607112389 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak 29 Jun 89 p 2

[Article by J. Smutny from Hanoi: "Results of the Activity of the First Vietnamese-Czechoslovak Venture; Let Us Not Be Afraid of a Healthy Risk"]

[Excerpts] The renovated 80-bed Hotel Pacific, with 326 satisfied Czechoslovak tourists staying there [figures as published] is one of the results of the activity of OTAS

[expansion unknown], the first Vietnamese-Czechoslovak joint venture. The Vietnamese state oil service company and the Agrokombinat United Agricultural Cooperative [AK UAC] of Slusovice founded the OTAS joint venture last September in the Vung Tau area, about 120 km southeast of Ho Chi Minh City.

OTAS director Josef Siller said that in addition to tourism and the services connected with it, the Slusovice AK UAC has begun trading within the OTAS framework. In 1988, the Slusovice AK UAC imported to the CSSR components for 300 computers; this year it plans to import components for 1,500 computers for professional use. These components come from Singapore, Taiwan, and Japan. Furthermore, the Slusovice AK UAC will deliver to the CSSR 3,000 tonnes of soya beans, spices, coconut oil, textiles, and other commodities. In exchange, Czechoslovakia will export to Vietnam sheet glass, irrigation systems, parts for building assembly halls, and other goods. There also is exceptional interest in beer, more than 2 million bottles of which the Slusovice AK UAC will export from the North Moravian breweries, part of which it will reexport from there. Businessmen in Singapore want to buy as many as 200,000 cases of the beer, for which one can acquire consumer electronics for the Czechoslovak domestic market.

OTAS wants to continue renovating the 160-bed Hotel Tam Tang to make it into a four-star hotel. [passage omitted]

According to J. Siller, trading activities could be expanded further if it was not for administrative obstacles and the inflexibility of institutions that act as agents. This year, the Slusovice AK UAC could import from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the Czechoslovak domestic market 200,000 lenghts of quality textiles, especially cotton textiles, but it still requests that a technical report be worked out for each type and that everyone has to be consulted. Last year this procedure, for example, prevented 5,000 lengths of imported textiles from reaching the CSSR Christmas market in time. [passage omitted]

There also is an interest in Czechoslovak LIAZ trucks and refrigerated trucks. However, in this case, and in case of other Czechoslovak products, it is necessary to set prices in such a way as to make them competetive. [passage omitted]

Foreign Exchange Auctions To Begin This Month
AU0607142589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Czechoslovak State Bank's Announcement"]

[Text] Prague—The Czechoslovak State Bank [SBCS] announces that in accordance with Articles 7 and 9 of the Law No.142/1970 on Foreign Currency Procedures and the Directive on Ensuring Comprehensive Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism, experimental verification of the operation of a limited foreign exchange market will begin in July. Its purpose is to provide organizations with the possibility to satisfy their additional foreign exchange needs and thus supplement the new foreign currency mechanism. The fundamental principle of the market's functioning will be foreign exchange auctions during which foreign exchange funds in freely convertible currencies will be offered for exchange for Korunas. The auctions will be organized and managed by a bank auction committee, appointed by the SBCS chairman. Organizations authorized to avail themselves of foreign currency funds can become participants in this market through the medium of their commercial bank. For this purpose they will open foreign currency accounts (asset or claims [narokovy] accounts). The Czechoslovak Commercial Bank shareholding company has been entrusted with organizing the limited foreign exchange market. The SBCS published SBCS Conditions for an Experimental Operation of a Limited Foreign Exchange Market, which are available in all SBCS branches. Those interested in selling or purchasing foreign exchange can obtain information from the SBCS branch, with which they do business.

Obzina Receives International Bank Chairman
AU0607160989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 89 p 2

[Report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Jaromir Obzina, CSSR deputy premier, received Vitaly Khokhlov, chairman of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation, in Prague on Tuesday [4 July]. They considered the results so far and other aims in the activity of the International Bank—first and foremost with regard to the CSSR's participation in the international division of labor. They also discussed proposals for improving the foreign currency and finance mechanism, and the international banking system of the CEMA member states. Svatopluk Potac, chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, participated in the reception.

Central Committee Presidium Communique Published
AU0507143789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 89 p 1

["Report From the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session," held in Prague on 30 June]

[Text] Prague—At its Friday [30 June] session the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium decided to convene a nationwide meeting of leading secretaries of party regional and district committees on 15-16 September 1989. Convening the meeting is an element of the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. Its proceedings will focus attention on topical issues of party work linked with the onset of the period of the annual members' meetings of primary

organizations and party conferences, on decisive policy in restructuring, and the fulfillment of planned tasks for this year and the whole of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The meeting's agenda will enable its participants to exchange experiences from the work of party regional and district organizations while implementing the conclusions of the seventh and subsequent CPCZ Central Committee sessions.

The Presidium discussed the orientation of the research and development work of the CPCZ Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism on resolving the new tasks which are arising for the party and for society from the present stage of restructuring, the democratization of the life of our society, and the acceleration of its socio-economic development. The CPCZ Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, in close cooperation with the CPCZ Central Committee Advanced School of Politics, will devote itself, first and foremost, to researching the theoretical issues of socialism, in particular, the political guidance of socialist society. Within the framework of the division of labor with other Czechoslovak social science institutions it will orient itself toward researching those issues in which the role of the party theoretical workplace is indispensable for the needs of the party leadership. Particular attention will be devoted to work connected with drafting the principles of the party program. A version of the textbook "The History of the CPCZ," studies on the history of the national liberation movement, a collection of documents on the nationalist policy of the CPCZ in the pre-Munich republic, and a collection of documents on the beginnings of the workers' movement will be prepared. "The Works of Klement Gottwald" will be republished. The institute's research and scientific activity will further incorporate the study of the historical experiences of the CPCZ and topical issues of the international communist and workers movement with emphasis on an analysis of the experiences of the Marxist-Leninist communist and workers parties while they were building socialism. Gradually cadre, organizational, and material-technical conditions will be created for the activity of the CPCZ Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed a report from the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission on the results of an inquiry into how party organizations are fulfilling the resolutions of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session on improving the quality of cadre policy. It stated that it is necessary to more thoroughly implement Leninist principles in the selection, deployment, preparation, and evaluation of cadres. It is necessary to strengthen democratic and collective assessment in discussing and publishing cadre proposals. As a rule, with a few exceptions, such proposals are not put forward for decisionmaking at members' meetings. While debating cadre questions one proceeds insufficiently from the knowledge of working collectives and social organizations. The system of accountability and public control of cadres is, in the interim, being slowly put into practice. The Presidium set the appropriate party functionaries the task of utilizing knowledge from the inquiry during the preparations for the annual members' meetings, conferences, and the 18th CPCZ Congress.

It entrusted Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, with heading a Czechoslovak party and government delegation which will take part in celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua in July.

The Presidium also dealt with the attempt at a new provocative petition campaign by some illegal groups aimed at a confrontation with the socialist state and with the socialist political system, about which RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA informed the public on 30 June in an article entitled "Who Sows the Wind." This once again confirms, as the Proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st Anniversary of Victorious February already emphasized, that illegal groups are attempting, with the aid of some political circles in the West, to cause tension in society with the aim of destabilizing conditions in our country. These are dangerous attempts which it is necessary to confront everywhere as resolutely as possible.

Agreement Reached With Vatican on New Bishops
LD0607093389 Prague CTK in English
1719 GMT 05 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 5 (CTK)—After an agreement between the Vatican and Czechoslovakia, the names of new bishops for the dioceses in the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics will be made public soon, deputy minister-director of the Czechoslovak Government Secretariat for Ecclesiastical Affairs, Vladimir Janku, said here today.

In an interview for CTK, Vladimir Janku pointed out, however, that "we are still feeling the activities and pressures of various forces which are trying to hinder positive development and our efforts at a gradual and serious normalization of relations between Czechoslovakia and the Vatican. On our part, we naturally proceed from the fact that Catholic believers are citizens of our socialist homeland with full rights, we respect ethical and humanitarian principles, and the principles of non-discrimination".

Vladimir Janku further said, he had three rounds of talks with Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, who led a Vatican delegation at recent celebrations of the 90th birthday of Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek.

He also said that Cardinal Tomasek was impressed by the congratulatory letters from Czechoslovakia's leaders. The cardinal, inter alia, positively evaluated the government's efforts at good relations between the state and the church and showed full understanding for a gradual and patient settlement of the existing problems.

Referring to attempts by some western media to characterize the personality of Cardinal Tomasek as a sort of symbol of opposition against the state, Vladimir Janku said the cardinal resolutely distanced himself from those who are not concerned about faith, but seek to abuse it for political aims, for disrupting the development of our socialist homeland. Cardinal Tomasek stressed that "this is not our line", Vladimir Janku added.

Church Affairs Official on Ties With Vatican

AU0707125489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 89 p 1

[Interview with Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the CSSR Church Affairs Secretariat: "A New Step Toward Normalizing CSSR Relations With the Vatican" by CTK and "(ZR)" in Prague on 5 July]

[Text] Prague—A further round of CSSR-Vatican talks has taken place in Prague conducted by Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the CSSR Church Affairs Secretariat, and, on behalf of the Vatican side, by Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno. Vladimir Janku evaluated the talks as being "on the whole, positive." He talked about them on Wednesday [5 July] in an interview for CTK. We publish the interview below.

[Question] At the 90th birthday celebrations for Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek the head of the Vatican delegation was Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, who traditionally heads the Vatican delegation in talks with the Czechoslovak Government delegation. Did you also have talks with him during his stay in Prague?

[Janku] We had three meetings altogether. After the talks which were held in April the Czechoslovak side was prepared to implement the results as quickly as possible. However, there arose—not from our side—some complications and through our embassy we agreed that it would be best to meet and personally clarify matters. This meeting took place at the end of June.

[Question] What kind of results did your meeting bring?

[Janku] On the whole, positive. Very shortly, following mutual agreement, the names of new bishops for Czech Socialist Republic [SR] and Slovak SR dioceses will be made public. However, I would like to say that we continue to perceive the effect and pressure from various forces that are trying to slow down and impair the positive development as well as our efforts for the gradual and serious normalization of mutual relations between the CSSR and the Vatican. Understandably, on our side we proceed from the fact that Catholic believers are fully-fledged citizens of our socialist homeland and we respect ethical and humanitarian concepts and principles of nondiscrimination.

[Question] As far as I am aware, you recently presented to Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek letters of congratulation on his 90th birthday from the most senior representatives of the state and society. How did the Cardinal receive them?

[Janku] The Cardinal did not hide his feelings and stressed several times how deeply he appreciates these letters which, at the same time, represent a great commitment for him. In our conversation the Cardinal positively appraised our endeavors for good relations between the Church and the State and showed complete understanding for the gradual and patient resolution of existing problems.

[Question] In a number of Western mass media there have been manifest attempts to characterize the person of the cardinal as some kind of symbol of opposition against the socialist state.

[Janku] The cardinal resolutely distanced himself from those who are in no way concerned about faith but about abusing it for political aims and for damaging the development of our socialist homeland. "That is not our line"—he emphasized.

Soviet Daily Interviews CPCZ's Zdenek Horeni

LD0907142889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] The Soviet daily IZVESTIYA published an extensive interview conducted by its special correspondents with Zdenek Horeni, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and editor-in-chief of RUDE PRAVO.

The interview describes the principles of information policy of the central Czechoslovak daily, political situation in Czechoslovakia and bilateral relations in the period of restructuring.

Zdenek Horeni states that the principle task of RUDE PRAVO is to inform its readers without committing any kind of interference. He stresses that the public flow of information should not be misused and should not lead to worsening relations between socialist countries. Zdenek Horeni also notes in the interview that in Czechoslovakia various groups appeared which call themselves opposition and do not want to become part of the National Front. The principal one among them is the Charter 77, which takes a bourgeois stand and wishes a return to the pre-Munich social order.

Zdenek Horeni goes on to say that opposition makes use of complications in the development of our society. Though the opposition is not very numerous, its existence cannot be underestimated.

Reshuffle in West Slovak Regional Committee

AU1007102689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Jul 89 p 2

[Excerpt] Bratislava (CTK)—Cadre issues as well as preparations for annual membership meetings and party conferences were on the agenda of the deliberations of the West Slovak CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] Central Committee in Bratislava yesterday [6 July]. The session released Julius Pauke from the post of secretary of the West Slovak CPSL Central Committee in connection with his being entrusted with a different function. Pavol Kovacik became the West Slovak CPSL Regional Committee's new Secretary for Agriculture and the Food Industry. [passage omitted]

Slovak National Front on 'Few Sentences' Appeal

AU1007104789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Jul 89 p 1

["Standpoint of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic on Provocative Actions"]

[Text] At its deliberations yesterday [6 July], the Presidium of the Central Committee of the National Front of the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR] dealt with provocative actions by antisocialist-oriented individuals who are striving to disrupt the republic, thwart the process of restructuring, split the National Front, and return to the bourgeois social system. Members of the Presidium, representatives of political parties, and social and special-interest organizations affiliated in the SSR National Front unequivocally rejected the "A Few Sentences" appeal as an attempt at confrontation with the socialist state. The Presidium again recalled that the National Front is a platform which makes it possible for every citizen to fully participate in the formulation, realization, and control of policy, to ensure his interests, cultural and social needs. It voiced its conviction that the decisive majority of our citizens will identify with this standpoint of the Presidium of the SSR National Front Central Committee, which condemns provocative actions of irresponsible individuals. It is firmly convinced that by their honest work they will show their attitude toward the comprehensive revolutionary restructuring, toward the development of our CSSR.

CTK on Appeal Condemnation

LD0607195789 Prague CTK in English 1555 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Bratislava July 6 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Slovak National Front condemned at its session here today, the appeal "Several Sentences" as an attempt at confrontation with the socialist state seeking to disrupt the Republic, mar the process of restructuring and split the National Front.

The Presidium repeatedly underlined that the National Front is a platform making it possible for every citizen to fully participate in the creation, realization, and control of politics, to ensure his or her interests, cultural and social needs. It voiced the conviction that a decisive majority of Czechoslovak citizens will identify themselves with this stand of the Slovak National Front presidium condemning provocative actions of irresponsible individuals. It also voiced the belief that by their honest work they will show their attitude to comprehensive restructuring and the development of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Anti-AIDS Diagnostic Kits Manufactured

AU0707145789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Lachema Against the HIV Virus"]

[Text] Brno—This month, the Lachema state enterprise in Brno started manufacturing a second generation of diagnostic kits, the IMULA anti HIV 1-recombinant test [IMULA-test anti HIV 1-recombinat]. The basis of the new type of kits for diagnosing AIDS, manufactured in cooperation with a British company, the Wellcome Foundation Ltd. of Dartford, is an antigen prepared by genetic manipulation. The new synthetic antigen reduces the risk of working with potentially infectious material. The first supplies of the new preparation will facilitate the examination of 300,000 patients.

Brno's Lachema enterprise started manufacturing diagnostic kits for diagnosing AIDS 13 months ago. So far it has provided the Czechoslovak health service with kits for roughly 745,000 tests.

The new product corresponds to the contemporary world trend in the development and production of diagnostic kits for determining HIV 1 antibodies.

Ostrava-Danube Waterway Company Founded 29 Jun

AU0507175089 Prague PRACE in Czech 30 Jun 89 p 2

["ae"-signed report: "From Ostrava by Water too"]

[Summary] Slusovice— Ekotrans Moravia, the first entrepreneurial shareholding company, was founded yesterday, 29 June, in order to build a waterway connecting Ostrava with the River Danube. The Agrokombinat united agricultural cooperative of Slusovice and the Vitkovice concern were involved in setting up the company 2 months ago. The Ekotrans Moravia now has 63 members, enterprises from all over the CSSR, which have invested Kcs272.9 million. The task at hand is to make the River Morava navigable from the Danube to the town of Lanzhot, and build the first section of the canal with an inland port, which is to be directly connected with the expressway, railroad, and transportation

network. The second stage will lead the waterway to Tlumacov, the third to Prerov, and then to Ostrava. The first section will be finished within 3 years.

Daily Denies Existence of 'Political Prisoners'

AU0707140689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jul 89 p 2

[Karel Walter article: "Regarding Political Prisoners"]

[Text] The document "A Few Sentences" speaks about—as we have already stated—the need to release political prisoners in our country. In connection with this one of our readers sent us the question: Is it really necessary to try people for political reasons and for their views? After all, political prisoners are not a good advertisement for any state....

"The purpose of the criminal code is the protection of the social and state system of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, socialist ownership, and the rights and justified interests of citizens, the fostering of the proper fulfillment of civic obligations, and the preservation of the regulations of socialist coexistence." It is written thus in the very first paragraph of the valid penal code.

The fact that the state is protecting the social ties on which its existence is founded certainly is nothing strange or illogical. Socialist legislation, then, protects socialist social ties. Whoever undermines them and impairs them exposes himself, understandably, to the corresponding sanctions which, according to the dangerous nature of the conduct, include being sentenced for committing a criminal act.

Various illegal groups in our country, especially the so-called "Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted," are trying to use the label of "political prisoner" and also "prisoner of conscience," of course, on due suggestion from abroad, in particular from Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. Whom do these self-styled arbiters of justice and injustice, of legality and illegality have in mind?

On the "list of defended prisoners" are several people convicted for subverting the republic, incitement, damaging the interests of the republic abroad, and also for criminal acts such as pilfering, parasitism, hooliganism, and so on. Included here—and this is particularly interesting—are cases of espionage. For example, Engineer Petr Hauptmann, who was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for divulging state secrets from his former place of work, and Josef Romer, sentenced to 13 years, and who found himself in prison, allegedly—as the supporters of illegal groups claim—because "he was interested in American culture and music," while in fact he was convicted of giving away information of an espionage nature. The so-called Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted even proposes that Josef Romer and the former Czechoslovak People's Army officer, Frantisek Veis, sentenced to 12 years for passing information abroad, be the subjects of "the next exchange of prisoners between East and West."

But let us return to the question. No one is punished in our country for his views and opinions. However, people are being punished according to the law on crimes against the republic, which is implemented in accordance with Article One of the penal code. However, we do not have to talk about criminal acts.

Investigation of Petr Cibulka Concluded in Brno

AU1007130889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jul 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Investigation Concluded"]

[Text] Brno—An investigation into the criminal activity of Petr Cibulka (born 1950), charged with criminal offenses of speculation and unauthorized entrepreneurship, and preparation for the criminal offense of incitement to sedition, was concluded in Brno this week.

In the 1984-88 period the accused made recordings on tapes and cassettes of a considerable amount of rock, folk, and other music and then sold them at profit. At the same time, he collected and reproduced written material attacking the socialist, social, and state system of the republic. The investigation has proved that Petr Cibulka sold tapes, cassettes, and printed matter worth more than Kcs255,000, making a profit of more than Kcs56,000 on the sales of tapes and cassettes, and of more than Kcs25,000 on the sales of the printed matter.

Additional tapes, cassettes and recording equipment, valued at more than Kcs410,000, and a considerable quantity of written material of an antisocial nature were seized in the apartment of the accused Petr Cibulka.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 29 Jun-5 Jul

AU0707163089

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 30 June to 6 July report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourceline given in parentheses):

The opening of the renovated Troja Chateau in Prague on 29 June was attended by Gustav Husak, Jan Fojtik, and Miroslav Stepan. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 89 p 1)

The 12th Central Bohemian regional agricultural exhibition in Benesov was visited by Josef Haman and Miroslav Zajic on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 89 p 2)

Jaromir Zak, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, was received by Pavel Hrivnak and Ignac Janak in Bratislava on 3 July. (PRAVDA 4 Jul 89 p 1)

Rudolf Schneider, deputy general director of Austria's Creditanstalt bank, was received by Pavel Hrivnak and Ignac Janak in Bratislava on 3 July. (PRAVDA 4 Jul 89 p 1)

Jan Fojtik, Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (CPCZ) Central Committee Presidium, received a delegation of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Prague on 30 June. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Jul 89 p 2)

Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier, attended a meeting of the management of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development in Bratislava on 4 July. (PRAVDA 5 Jul 89 p 1)

Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received Afghan Ambassador Abdul Baqi Samandari in connection with the end of the latter's tour of duty in the CSSR, in Prague on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 89 p 1) He presided over a session of the CPCZ Central Committee Legal Commission in Prague on 5 July. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Jul 89 p 2) He received the outgoing U.S. Ambassador Julian Niemczyk and Cypriot Ambassador Mikhail Sierifis in Prague on 5 July. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Jul 89 p 2)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee, attended deliberations of the Central Slovak CPSL Regional Committee in Banska Bystrica on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 89 p 2) He received new Bulgarian consul in Bratislava on 29 June. (PRAVDA 30 Jun 89 p 1) He visited the Dunajska Streda district on 4 July. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jul 89 p 2) He received Libor Batrla, central director of CSSR Television, in Bratislava on 4 July. (PRAVDA 5 Jul 89 p 1)

Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received French computer experts in Prague on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 89 p 2) He presided over a consultation of secretaries of regional and city party committees for party work in the industry, in Prague on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, departed Prague for Pyongyang to attend the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students on 30 June. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Jul 89 p 7)

Karel Urbanek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member continued his visit to northern Moravia on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 89 p 2) He attended a party aktiv in Brno on 3 July. (RUDE PRAVO 4 Jul 89 p 2) He visited the South Moravian region on 4 July. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jul 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zajic, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, attended agricultural aktiv in Trebic on 5 July. (RUDE PRAVO 6 Jul 89 p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received U.S. Ambassador Julian Niemczyk in connection with the end of the latter's tour of duty in the CSSR, in Prague on 3 June. (RUDE PRAVO 4 Jul 89 p 2) He received a delegation of the French National Assembly in Prague on 4 July. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jul 89 p 2) He received Cypriot Ambassador Mikhail Sierifis in connection with the end of the latter's duty in the CSSR, in Prague on 4 July. (RUDE PRAVO 5 Jul 89 p 2)

Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, was present when Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, received Army General Petr Lushev, chief commander of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, in Prague on 29 June. (RUDE PRAVO 30 Jun 89 p 1)

Honecker Leaves Hospital, Begins Annual Vacation

LD1007155189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1516 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After short inpatient treatment for gallstone colic Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, was discharged from the hospital today and he started his annual holiday according to plan.

CPSU's Maslyukov Meets Leaders, Holds Talks

Discusses Cooperation With Mittag

AU0707113489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jul 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Further Progress in Cooperation With USSR"]

[Text] Berlin—Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received Yuriy Maslyukov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, for talks on Wednesday [5 July].

During the friendly meeting, Guenter Mittag paid tribute to the results of the recent meeting of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, with Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, as an important contribution to the further strengthening of the fraternal alliance between the SED and the CPSU, as well as the comprehensive deepening of cooperation between the two countries. He informed his visitor about the tasks resulting from the Eighth SED Central Committee meeting for the further preparation of the 12th party congress. Guenter Mittag gave a report on the great efforts of the GDR communists and working people in all areas of the national economy to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR with high achievements.

Yuriy Maslyukov gave a report on the efforts to implement the resolutions adopted at the 27th party congress to develop the USSR's national economy, and a report on the results of the Congress of People's Deputies.

It was unanimously stated that as a result of the basic agreements reached between the general secretaries of the two fraternal parties, further progress has been made in the development of mutually advantageous and efficient cooperation in important areas of science and production. Both sides will do everything in their power to coordinate plans between the GDR and the USSR for the period of 1991 through 1995 at a high level and with ambitious goals.

Taking part in the talks, which were held in a cordial atmosphere, were Gerhard Schuerer, SED Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, and Guenter Ehrensperger, SED Central Committee member and director of the Planning and Finance Department of the SED Central Committee. Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, was present at the talks.

Holds Meeting With Honecker

AU1007125589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jul 89 pp 1-2

[ADN report: "Friendly Meeting Between Erich Honecker and Yuriy Maslyukov"]

[Text] Berlin—Erich Honecker, Central Committee general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, on Thursday [6 July] received Yuriy Maslyukov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee.

During the friendly meeting, a comprehensive exchange of opinion was held on the high level of economic and scientific-technological cooperation reached by the two countries and on the tasks of their continuing further development. Based on the discussions held by Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on 28 June 1989, the joint determination was confirmed to continue to cooperate most closely in building socialism.

The SED Central Committee general secretary told his visitor about the implementation of the resolutions adopted by the 11th Party Congress and the assessments and statements made at the Eighth SED Central Committee meeting. He stressed that the GDR's socialist development in the 40th year of its existence is marked by political stability and economic dynamism. He said that the republic's increasing economic power constitutes the foundation for the people's social security and rising living standard. Honecker said that continuing the well-tried unity of economic and social policy ensures the stability and dynamism of the national economic development also during the period of the 1991-95 5-Year Plan that is currently being prepared.

Yuriy Maslyukov gave a report on the course of the USSR's national economic restructuring. He said that the increase of labor productivity on the basis of the rapid development of science and technology is the prerequisite for solving the socioeconomic tasks that Soviet society faces. He said that it is important to create an economic mechanism by economic reform, that guaranteed the quick production increase, particularly for the

supply of the people with goods, which had been given precedence. He added that the restructuring process is especially aimed at making the values of socialism fully effective.

Erich Honecker stressed that the SED and all the GDR people comprehensively support the course for the renewal of Soviet society adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference.

Honecker said that the development of fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union in all spheres of social life continues to be of primary importance. He said that this holds particularly true for the close intertwinement of the GDR and USSR national economies and scientific potentials. In this respect, specific accords were reached and new tasks set at highest-level meetings in Moscow in September 1988 and June 1989, he said, adding that it is of utmost importance that cooperation is increasingly marked by the creation and broad application of key technologies, above all microelectronics and computer technology.

Honecker said that the GDR seeks to develop the well-tried forms of cooperation further and at the same time to embark on new ways of solving new tasks, including by expanding economic and production cooperation in the framework of direct relations between combines, production associations, scientific institutes, and other organizations of the two countries on an economically well-founded, contractual basis. He said that the GDR continues to attach fundamental importance to the coordination of economic plans with its main partner, the USSR. Honecker said that this applies to accelerating the development of science and technology as well as to the supply by the GDR of goods required by the Soviet side according to plan—the supply of modern machinery, equipment, and facilities, consumer goods for the people, and other important products of the manufacturing industry.

Yuriy Maslyukov said that the strengthening and development of comprehensive fraternal relations with the GDR is a concern of the CPSU. He said that the broad, mostly traditional ties between the two countries in research, development, production, and goods exchange are of decisive importance for the national economies of the GDR and the USSR, particularly at the present stage of the Soviet economy's increased social orientation. On the basis of the agreements reached at the highest level, in accordance with the concept of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR signed in February 1989, new tasks for the deepening of specialization and cooperation, reaching far into the future, are being implemented, the technical level of production and mutual supplies is being increased, and progressive forms of foreign trade cooperation are being developed.

Yuriy Maslyukov stressed the importance of coordinating the national economic plans, which continues to represent the main form of coordination of the economic and scientific-technological relations for a relatively long period. He gave a report on the advanced state of the two countries' relevant activities for the next 5-year plan period from 1991 through 1995, which is the main purpose of his present visit to the GDR. This stable, dynamic cooperation is increasingly marked by the countries' orientation toward high technologies, perfecting the structure of foreign trade relations, and activating cooperation of enterprises, combines, and associations, particularly in the intelligentsia-intensive production branches, Maslyukov said. He added that the sides agreed that the plan coordination would be purposefully continued during the next weeks and months. In doing so, they sought to find mutually advantageous solutions to the problems that are important for our countries' national economies—solutions that had to be found by the central planning organs, by dual-level organs, and on the level of production units.

The partners in the talks stated that it is of utmost importance that they agree on basic foreign policy issues, and that they agree on the contents and the ways of deepening socialist economic integration between the GDR and the USSR in view of the preparation for the 12th SED Congress and the 28th CPSU Congress. The relations between the GDR and the USSR, which are based on the trusting cooperation between the two parties and are continuously shaped further, contribute to strengthening socialism and ensuring peace in the world.

Taking part in the talks were Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary; Gerhard Schuerer, Politburo candidate member, deputy Council of Ministers chairman, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission; and Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR.

Received by Stoph

AU1007124089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Joint Tasks for Deepening Cooperation Discussed"]

[Text] Berlin—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, met for friendly talks on Thursday [6 July]. In the course of the talks, which were marked by the meeting between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on 28 June, the partners in the talks discussed joint tasks for further deepening the fraternal relations between the GDR and the USSR.

The partners in the talks stressed that important bases are being laid for the further stable development of economic, scientific, and technological cooperation, as well as for ensuring an exchange of goods in accordance with the two sides' requirements by the coordination of the national economic plans, which is currently being carried out in a concentrated way between both countries' central planning organs at the government level, at the level of national economic and industrial branches, as well as at the level of combines, associations, and other organizations within the scope of direct relations.

Willi Stoph and Yuriy Maslyukov confirmed the aspirations of the GDR and the USSR to further develop their economic and scientific-technological cooperation in the next 5-year plan period on a high level, increase their goods exchange, and expand their cooperation relations.

Gerhard Schuerer, deputy Council of Ministers chairman and GDR State Planning Commission chairman, took part in the talks which were held in an atmosphere of mutual harmony. Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, was present.

Delegation Returns From Bucharest Pact Meeting
LD0807132489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1251 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR delegation which attended the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political consultative Committee returned from Bucharest this afternoon. It was welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by members of the party and state leadership. Gheorghe Caranfil, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the GDR, was present. The delegation was cordially seen off at Bucharst-Otopeni international Airport by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Romanian Communist Party Political Executive Committee and Romanian prime minister, and by other members of the Romanian party and state leadership.

Editorial Calls NATO Reaction 'Unsatisfactory'
AU1007133089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jul 89 p 2

[Editorial by "He": "What Is NATO's Reaction?"]

[Text] The number, realism, and urgency of the disarmament proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact states are clearly evident, writes our reader Wolfgang Fichtel from Dresden. He asks: What is NATO's reaction?

To put it directly: unsatisfactory. Regarding Vienna, for instance, where our proposals on a radical reduction in conventional forces and arms have been on the table for months, the NATO leadership has promised to present a response or a concept of its own by the fall at the earliest. NATO has rejected our proposal to simultaneously negotiate on tactical nuclear weapons, arguing—and this is interesting—that definitive results must be reached in Vienna first.

Regarding the halving of strategic offensive weapons, the United States entrenches itself behind the verification issue at the negotiations with the USSR in Geneva. It also keeps putting up new obstacles on the road to the discontinuation of nuclear tests and a worldwide ban on chemical weapons.

So, is NATO doing nothing? That is not entirely correct. NATO is even doing quite a lot—however, regrettably in the wrong direction. As if the Warsaw Pact states had never submitted their proposals, and as if they had not made any unilateral concessions regarding the decrease of their military budgets, NATO demands that its members increase their military spending by 3 percent. U.S. General Chief-of-Staff Admiral Crowe intends to adjust the number of tanks and artillery systems in West Europe "to a given situation"—upward, of course. The number of NATO bombers increased from 5,000 in May to 5,400 in June; it will be "increased by several hundred more" in July.

Regarding tactical nuclear weapons, NATO does not seek to abolish, but to "modernize" them. U.S. Secretary of State Baker: "Even with conventional parity, our nuclear weapons will play a unique role (!) in our strategy." Unfortunately, we could add any number of examples to this chain. In addition, we are always confronted with their dogged insistence on the strategy of nuclear "deterrence" and with new steps of stepped-up armament.

So, quite obviously, influential forces within NATO fully put on the brakes. Two conclusions offer themselves: In keeping with the will of all peoples, we must intensify our efforts to advance the disarmament process. We also must remain vigilant—vigilant and ready for defense.

Party Officials Comment on Upcoming Bush Visit

Alternative Party Officials' Remarks

AU1007200489 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Jul 89 pp 1, 5

[Unattributed report: "Trust, Hope—Mr Bush"]

[Text] No doubt, the visit of the U.S. President in Hungary is a great event from every point of view. On a long-term basis, our bilateral economic relations can be the major thing for us. We asked the heads of some Hungarian political organizations about their opinions, political organizations that are not in power: Viktor Orban of the Union of Young Democrats; Imre Mecs of the Association of Free Democrats; Janos Marton of the People's Party; Istvan Prepeliczay of the Smallholders' Party; and Karoly Vigh of the Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society.

Viktor Orban, member of the National Committee of the Union of Free Democrats [FIDESZ]:

"We expect two meetings between President Bush and the FIDESZ. We will meet first as representatives of the FIDESZ, together with other representatives of the Opposition Roundtable; The other occasion will be a meeting of 10-12 Hungarian young people with President Bush, and there will be eight FIDESZ members among these young people. If we have proper opportunities to express our concepts, we will not ask for economic assistance similar to the one we have received so far; In other words, we do not want unbridled financial credits provided without guarantees. We want increasing U.S. capital for specific goals. First of all, we need so-called 'beribboned' [pantlikazott] funds for industrial restructuring, along with exact deadlines, implementation schedules, and supervision. In connection with guarantees: There can be only one guarantee for a Western investor in Hungary today, namely a fundamental political guarantee. His capital should also work in Hungary according to Western habits and procedure! Western investors should be certain that they can get their money and their capital returns freely and can get it out of the country in hard currency at any time. Although there are already such laws in Hungary, the situation is still rather precarious. The West does not believe that things are irreversible in Hungary. People in the West think that another law could come along tomorrow, and then they will not be able to get their money back.... In the final analysis, only free elections and the subsequent situation can provide full guarantees.... This is a common interest for the United States and the Hungarian opposition alike."

Karoly Vigh, Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society:

"Hungary has an urgent need for economic assistance today. We can expect such assistance mostly from the FRG and the United States. The latter has already hinted that we would receive such assistance. However, the form and channels of this assistance are still questionable. I do not think that we are talking here simply about economic loans and financial assistance. The United States will choose a much more intensive form of assistance, like, for example, the instruction of managers, an assistance that we have already experienced....

"I hope that these effective forms will contribute to pulling Hungary out of the economic quagmire."

Imre Mecs, a spokesman of the Association of Free Democrats:

"I will ask the Americans about the preferential treatments they can offer us. I do not mean only money, but also providing technology and reducing the COCOM-list, as well as support primarily for the Hungarian industry. The rescheduling of our debts and opportunities for adequate financial services could emerge. I would also ask the President about government guarantees for investments, if time allows me. Here I mean U.S. Government guarantees for U.S. investors."

Istvan Prepeliczay, general secretary of the Smallholders' Party:

"We expect the United States to encourage private investment possibilities! Investment of modern technology, and not loans and credits that have been provided so far. We need modern technology that mostly helps private entrepreneurs, small artisans, and small-scale agricultural production. In our view, our technology is particularly backward in the area of small-scale agricultural production, because Hungary had a period of forced large-scale farming. Therefore, agricultural mechanization is still very much in favor of large-scale farming. Of course, the small-scale farming needs totally different machines. Therefore, we expect the U.S. Administration to conduct a policy of encouraging U.S. investments in Hungary capable of fulfilling these needs."

Janos Marton, Hungarian People's Party:

"The Hungarian public often runs into a haze of illusions. This is also one reason for our historical defeats. The upcoming Bush-visit is also preceded by illusions. We, in the People's Party, have no illusions. We must accept the fact that, everywhere in the world, capital is flowing to places with firm efforts for profits. However, for the time being, there are no such efforts in Hungary. Inflation is one reason for this; economic and political uncertainty is the other. There are no development efforts in Hungary, and domestic investments are insignificant. Although a free movement of capital is guaranteed on paper, nothing will come out of this as long as the interest on working capital is lower than the bank interest. My expectations from the visit are that some of our debts will be canceled, and we get some breathing space, enough for the government to finally outline the

points of breaking out of the current impasse and start escaping from the pit in which the Hungarian economy is currently trapped. An example of a possibility worth making use of is the barter trade between Hungarian meat products and Japanese electronics, a deal currently being worked out by Mr Kapolyi, who has already held concrete negotiations on the subject."

Foreign Minister Horn's Preview

LD1007214989 Budapest MTI in English 1618 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 10 (MTI)—Hungary is looking forward with great expectations to the visit of U.S. President George Bush, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn said on Monday afternoon at a press conference prior to the President's visit to Budapest.

Hungarian leaders wish to provide the President with a realistic picture of the situation in Hungary, the country's efforts, and the intentions of the government and the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP]. In this context, Mr Horn stressed that the HSWP was the one which initiated the process of renewal, and it continues to lead the process. At the same time, it cooperates with non-government parties and movements.

The foreign minister went on to say that no ruling coalition can be conceived of in Hungary in the near future without the participation of the HSWP. While it has to accept responsibility for the errors committed in the past, the party is invariably the greatest political strength, and is capable of leading renewal in spite of its weakened credibility.

It is now working to eliminate the reasons that led to the crisis, and will prepare its concrete programme by this autumn. Comparison with the goals and programmes of the other parties and movements also proves that the programme of the HSWP now taking shape was based on a realistic appraisal of the situation, and the correct designation of the most important goals.

Mr Horn went on to stress that Hungarian foreign policy starts from realities, and keeps the country's geo-political situation in view.

'The issue is not our distancing ourselves from the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries in the course of the Hungarian renewal. What we do want is to modernize the system of relations that connect us to these states,' Mr Horn said. At the same time, Hungary's geo-political situation is not an obstacle in the way of extending openness in all directions. President Bush's visit is one indication of this, he noted.

The foreign minister said there was no talk of American loans to Hungary in connection with the forthcoming presidential visit. In economic relations, Hungary is pressing to avert the existing obstacles that make the extension of cooperation more difficult. The Hungarian side would like to see a situation whereby the United States provided mfn status to Hungary for five years, or with no time limit at all. It would also welcome the ensurance of American government guarantees for American capital investment, the facilitating of the transfer of technology, and the easing of the Cocom list. Hungary would also like to open new representations on the west coast of the United States.

Asked about the importance and connections of President Bush's visit, Mr Horn underlined that the Hungarian Government agreed with Mr Bush when he said he does not wish to place a wedge between the countries he visits and their allies when he goes to Eastern Europe. The President is well acquainted with the European, including Eastern European, realities, and starts from this in the course of his visit, Mr Horn stressed.

The foreign minister noted that President's visit will most certainly further strengthen relations with the Hungarians living in the United States. Mr Horn said Hungary counts on Hungarian Americans increasingly to join into the realization of plans that serve to transform the economy: The visit of the President could give impetus to this.

Mr Horn was asked several questions at the press conference about Hungarian-Romanian relations. He reiterated that no advance had been made in any single debated issue at the recent, unofficial meeting in Bucharest. At the talks, the Hungarian delegation refuted with facts and figures the accusations voiced in Romania about Hungarian policy which were repeated at the meeting with President Ceausescu. The sides did not request a third country to mediate.

Mr Horn also discussed a possible Romanian military threat. He said the Hungarian delegation to the talks noted that statements that include military threats, and are addressed to Hungary, have also appeared, although these were not detailed at the meeting. The foreign minister then discussed Hungarian anxieties in concrete form: If a neighbouring country states it is capable of producing nuclear weapons, and that it will begin production of medium-range missiles in the near future, then this absolutely has to concern the security of neighbouring countries, and of Hungary in this given case.

Articles and statements by Romanian leaders include threats of military nature: For instance, according to a statement by the chief-of-staff of the Romanian army, the Trianon peace treaty is unjust, as some Romanian-inhabited areas belong to Hungarian territory. He also formulated a demand to change this situation. There have been several similar statements. Hungary does not wish to dramatize these, but neither does it wish to let them go unremarked, particularly in a situation where relations between the two countries are tense, Mr Horn noted at the press conference.

Nemeth's Pre-Visit Interview

LD1107081789 Budapest MTI in English 0642 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—On the eve of the visit to Hungary of U.S. President George Bush, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, gave an interview to MAGYAR HIRLAP. The interview is carried in the Tuesday issue.

Q: What, in your view, is the significance of the visit of the President of the United States of America?

A: It is, naturally, a great honour for a small country such as ours for the number one political leader of a huge country to visit it. The value of George Bush's visit is enhanced by the fact that this is the first visit to Hungary by a President of the United States. We hope that a visit like this will not be a sensation in future, but a usual element of maintaining international relations. Without over-rating the steps we have taken towards democratization and a market-type economy, I believe the visit of the President also means the recognition of these. I hope that we can count on the political and economic support and constructive cooperation of the United States in the future for us to progress along the road we have set out on. I hope that what they see here will convince our American guests about the sincerity of our intentions, that we wish to elevate Hungary to the level of the developed countries. We would like to win the support of the American Government for this by promoting our cooperation with international financial and political organizations, and awakening the interest of American capital to contribute—through founding joint ventures, or even ventures fully in foreign share—to the restoration of the Hungarian economy and to streamlining its structure. However, the most important thing as far as I am concerned, is to eliminate the doubts which still exist in the United States, and in other Western countries, about a roll-back in Hungary, and the security of capital investments.

Q: In other words, you don't have any worries about a roll-back?

A: Economic reforms have an opposition in Hungary. From the left, on the basis of a dogmatic economy approach, and from the right, too, on the basis of economic nationalism, which professes some sort of isolation. These efforts can be traced in contemporary Hungarian political life. However, if economic relations are successfully stabilized, and the decline in the standard of living stopped, then there is no realistic chance for these forces to overthrow the reform efforts. If a roll-back does come about, it would mean a national tragedy for our people.

Q: Let's return to your evaluation of the future of economic cooperation between Hungary and the United States—and between Hungary and the West in general. What can be the basis of support provided to our country?

A: Before I answer your question, I must say that in the interest of stabilizing the economy and society in our country, we have to solve contradictory tasks that are so far unparallelled in the international field as far as harmonic implementation is concerned. Economic performances should be increased—accepting the social welfare tensions of radical restructuring—and the genuinely grass-root democratic system of institutions should be created now at the same time.

The external and internal financial balance should be consolidated simultaneously with a strict monetary and fiscal policy, and more favourable conditions created to boost ventures by moderating tax and other burdens. The redistributing, interfering role of the budget should be moderated in the entrepreneurial sphere and, at the same time, the state (central and local) social policy activity intensified in the interest of preventing a social explosion. On the basis of realistic calculations, we cannot solve these contradictions without Western assistance. Large-scale capital investment would be needed for years in a situation that is lacking in capital, in order to reduce, and then stop, the decline in consumption.

Q: So you're counting on the influx of foreign capital?

A: We need foreign capital—mainly in the form of working capital—not only directly, but the West can provide assistance for the Hungarian economy to be able to join the circulation of world economy as soon as possible, and for the modern technological, production organization, management and market research procedures to be introduced into Hungary. We can foresee relations with the West developing along several lines. We are striving to extend our existing cooperation with the international financial organizations (International Monetary Fund, World Bank), to work out agreements for the longer term. We are preparing for the European changes in 1992 on the basis of a separate programme, and trying to have the contract signed with the common market develop into an associated member relation.

What we expect from our Western partners is for them to understand the historical significance of the experiment that is in progress in Hungary, and for them to take into consideration the transitory nature of our situation in their policies. We in Hungary are taking the boldest steps among the East European countries to create a market economy. However, market relations similar to the developed regions of the world do not exist as yet, and so we have to take the transitory nature into consideration in monetary and fiscal regulation. For a long time, the population was shielded from a great many of the economic and social risks. The price for this was the country's large-scale indebtedness. All consequences arising from economic stagnation and debt burdens cannot be thrust on the population without a transition, as this could lead to a political explosion which could sweep away the political and economic reforms most people want.

We wish to turn the expected foreign assistance appearing in financial and working capital from exclusively to the rational development of the economy, to boosting entrepreneurial readiness, particularly to encourage the founding of small and medium-sized companies, and to enliven the activity of the private sphere. We wish to ensure this condition by providing access to possible foreign sources—through tenders and preferences. We shall give a detailed account, both to the domestic and foreign public, on how the foreign sources were utilized.

We are striving for a genuine world economic opening, and are gradually creating the conditions for this in the course of our reform. In the past decades, scientific research, technical development and the processes of production have become international in the world. We would like to make up for our arrears, and we wish to join in these processes. We thus place great emphasis on attracting working capital, and, with it, managers, technological and organizational procedures, and marketing skills to our country, and on setting up joint ventures. Alongside improving the conditions of trade, we wish to develop our relations with the United States, too, mainly in this direction.

For us, it is important to strengthen our Europeanness, and to get closer to European integration. The existence of the two alliance systems is a reality of our day, but it is not an obstacle in the way of our seeking—without entering the West European integrations as members—the road to improving the conditions of cooperation, and to making our economic cooperation closer.

Q: That has, in part, answered my next question about how you evaluate our country's membership of the Warsaw Treaty—with particular respect to our political and economic goals and international processes.

A: Our withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty would be quite inappropriate right now. We are trying to transform the operational system of the Warsaw Treaty in a way that fully excludes any body of the Warsaw Treaty from interfering in the internal affairs of the individual countries. In the long term, the Hungarian efforts can be seen as the elimination of the military blocs in Europe. Naturally, this mainly depends on the great powers. If this does come about, then neutrality would receive an entirely new interpretation, and would become possible for several countries at the same time. Hungarian domestic policy is completely sovereign today, too. The Soviet troops stationed in the country do not, in any way, influence Hungarian political processes.

Considering a longer period, the great powers more often obstructed, than promoted, the Hungarian development in the course of Hungarian history. This partly arose from Hungary's geo-political situation, and partly from the misplaced orientation and decisions of Hungarian politics, particularly foreign policy.

We are now in the fortunate position where both world powers are interested in the success of the Hungarian reforms, and express this interest through moral and political support. Naturally, this means a great deal, but, looking at our situation realistically, we also need economic and financial assistance which can expressly expect from the West.

Peace Letter Presented for Bush, Gorbachev

LD1107080189 Budapest MTI in English
1946 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 10 (MTI)—On the eve of President Bush's visit to Budapest, representatives of the Budapest Reform Circles of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party presented letters of identical content addressed to George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev, at the Budapest embassies of the United States and the Soviet Union.

The letter stresses that now, when modernization of the Hungarian economy and society is once again receiving impetus, safeguarding world peace, the radical reduction of armament costs, and the goodwill of other peoples, particularly the great powers, is of vital importance to Hungary.

The Hungarian people are interested in the intensification of the friendly relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Only in the wake of this is there hope of eliminating the military blocs, and of bringing nearer the realization of the old longing of the Hungarian people, that the conditions of the guaranteed neutrality of Hungary come about.

The live chain planned to be formed on the occasion between the American and the Soviet embassies did not, in the end, come about. However, young athletes carrying torches, American, Hungarian and Soviet flags, did form a peace relay to cover the distance between the two embassies.

More Protests Over PRC Violence, Reprisals

Demonstration in Budapest

LD1007213789 Budapest MTI in English
1704 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 10 (MTI)—Several hundred people participated on Monday in a demonstration in Budapest to protest against the reprisals in China.

The demonstration was organized by independent Hungarian opposition organizations.

400 People Attend Demonstration

LD1007230189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] In Budapest, on Voeroesmarty Square, about 50 people have staged a demonstration against the Tiananmen Square military intervention. Jozsef Orosz reports from the scene:

[Orosz] For about an hour and a half 400 hundred people could smell the sharp stench of dictatorship. Two alternative organizations erected the replica of the U.S. Statue of Liberty on Voeroesmarty Square. It was another variety of this which was destroyed by tanks on Tiananmen Square.

Here, in Budapest, three people who painted themselves yellow, have painted the statue made of hungarocell [plastic insulating material] with red caustic paint which, after that, started to decay. In China, on the Square of Heavenly Peace, an aging, cynical state leadership has ordered the shooting of those who advocated reform as a people's movement, said the speaker of the Free Democrats. In China, the murderers are those who play the march of the reform. [as heard]

Whilst on Voeroesmarty Square, the Statue of Liberty was reduced to a shrunken and crumbled white mound, the speaker of the Hungarian October Party was talking about tyranny, which is old and worthless, and it is worthless because it is driven by the filthiest spring of history, the spring of intimidation, violence, and the truism which says: Let them hate me but let them fear me also.

The awful smell of dictatorship was spreading for an hour and a half in the city. By now, even the traces of the red paint is cleared away, but only here, in Budapest.

Romanian Polemics at Pyongyang Youth Festival

AU1007122289 Budapest MTI in English 1134 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest Jul 06 (MTI)—On behalf of the Hungarian delegation, Istvan Forrai addressed the human rights debate centre of the 13th World Youth Festival on Thursday in Pyongyang.

He stressed that the enforcement of human rights cannot merely be the internal affair of individual countries. He noted that young Hungarians were shocked by the events that took place in China. The experiences of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 also indicate that the people's way of thinking cannot be changed through the power of weapons. He spoke briefly about Romanian violations of human rights. The speech won a standing ovation from the the Italian, Polish and Soviet representatives.

The representative of the Romanian Communist Youth Union, in his unscheduled reply, made efforts to prove that the themes touched on by the Hungarians had nothing to do with the agenda of the conference. He accused Hungary of interfering in internal Romanian affairs.

The leader of the Italian delegation, Roberto Cuillo, said that the fact that the Hungarian delegation condemned the Romanian violation of human rights did not contradict the idea of solidarity.

Romania Stages Nagy Funeral Protest

AU0507192889 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by Albert Laszlo: "An Event in Kolozsvar—The Background of a House Search"]

[Excerpts] In an extended news program on 18 June, Romanian television broadcast a 45-minute report on the protest meetings organized all over the country against the "revisionist, irredentist, Horthyist, and anti-communist events" in Hungary.

The Romanian leadership used the funeral of Imre Nagy and his associates to attack the Hungarian reform policy.

The television cameras also failed to hide the ad hoc nature of the protest meetings. A few dozen, or at best a few hundred, people participated in these meetings. Most of these people were ordered to come Saturday evening or Sunday morning, without being told the reason. The prepared speakers were also waiting. The scenario was set around midday and the television crews started running with the greatest possible haste to have enough material for the evening hours.

A house search took place at the apartment of Eva Cs. Gyimesi, university lecturer at the Hungarian Department of the University of Kolozsvar [Cluj], 2 days after the protest meetings. The authorities had already searched her apartment thoroughly about 1 and ½ years ago, seeking documents and banned books. This time the men of the economic militia searched the apartment looking for food.

The protocol shows what they found: among some trivia, some foreign canned food, a little coffee, and some concentrated soup-tablets; so-called Western and Hungarian goods. [passage omitted)

For days the authorities kept interrogating her. They wanted (and they want?) to prove that she was trading in foreign goods or, speaking in professional terms, that she was engaged in profiteering. With three cans of food, half a kilogram of coffee, and some concentrated soup-tablets....! [passage omitted]

Eva Cs. Gyimesi has been on the authorities' blacklist for many years. Her only crime is that she has constantly refused to compromise and has fought for the rights of the Hungarian minority guaranteed by the Constitution; she has been fighting for education in the mother tongue, and against the closure of Hungarian schools. [passage omitted]

Primate Asks Nemeth To Review Mindszenty Case

LD1107095889 Budapest MTI in English 0802 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—In an official letter addressed to Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, Cardinal Laszlo Paskai, primate and archbishop of Esztergom, recalls that good many members of the Catholic Church were imprisoned in the past. The unlawful conviction and imprisonment of Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty, primate and archbishop of Estergom, is a particularly painful wound of the Hungarian Catholic Church. It would bring a great deal of satisfaction if the Hungarian government initiated, out of turn, the revision of the trial of the deceased cardinal, Archbishop Paskai writes.

In his reply, Mr Nemeth stressed that the Council of Ministers passed a resolution on revising the criminal cases that included trumped up elements, and thus asked the chief public prosectuor to reexamine, from the past of legality, the criminal proceedings instituted against Jozsef Mindszenty and six asociates in 1948-49.

Referring to the information obtained from the chief public prosecutor, Mr Nemeth says that the revision of Joszef Mindszenty's trial is a complicated and time-consuming task. There are plenty of secondary documents in the file, while some important documents are missing. The chief public prosecutor took measures to procure the missing documents. Mr Nemeth stresses in his reply: It is common interest that genuine position should be taken only on the basis of authentic documents.

More Reportage on Nagymaros Dam Issue

Commissioner Udvari on Dam

LD0207055889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 1 Jul 89

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] [Announcer] On Monday [26 June], the Hungarian Government passed to the competent Czechoslovak persons, the documents on whose basis it suspended the Nagymaros investment. On Tuesday, Government Commissioner Lokvenc took the stance that the documents do not contain any new standpoints which had not been examined earlier. Later it was also stated what were Czechoslovak reactions since the beginning of the week. I asked this question over the telephone to the Hungarian Government commissioner for investment, Laszlo Udvari:

[Begin recording] [Udvari] In recent days, there was another strong reaction in Czechoslovakia, especially in Slovakia. Numerous commentaries and articles have appeared to the effect that they consider the Hungarian Government's decision incomprehensible, and their evaluation is that the decision can be traced primarly to political motives. It is my view that the pronouncement by Government Commissioner Lokvenc that Czechoslovakia is not exerting pressure on the Hungarian Government, indicates precisely the opposite.

[Announcer] Anyway, what could have happened to change this evaluation, that following the earlier evaluation, now that, as you have said, there have again been strong reactions?

[Udvari] This began with the fact that Miklos Nemeth and government leader Adamec reached a very correct agreement that the Czechoslovak side is ready to examine every environmental risk factor and danger which the Hungarians raise. At the same time, I daily perceive, in word and in writing, in every kind of protocol and memorandum, that the second thought is that the Czechoslovak side—and they allude also to the decision of the National Assembly—insists on the full implementation of the 1977 inter-state agreement, in other words, on the construction of the Nagymaros water barrage.

[Announcer] So the point is, that they are saying one thing to us and another thing to Czechoslovak public opinion?

[Udvari] Unequivocally, the Czechoslovak Government and National Assembly have a preconception that they are ready to hold discussions, but the object of the discussions is that in the last resort they should force the Hungarian side to build the Nagymaros water barrage.

[Announcer] We have not heard this before, even from yourself. In other words, this has never been so frankly expressed, even in Hungary. What we read and heard was that these discussions are under way and that the greatest understanding was experienced at the discussions.

[Udvari] Look, I am the government commissioner of the Council of Ministers. I took care that at Monday's press conference, on television, I should really speak about what guides the Hungarian Government, that in fact we are raising numerous ecological problems, and that the Hungarian Government's decision is not politically motivated. In every protocol, it says that they are ready to discuss it; whereas the next paragraph carries the insistence on fulfilment of the 1977 inter-state agreement. In recent days, they have asked for the opinions of numerous experts who portrayed the advantages of the

construction of the hydro-power plant, without representing the environmental risks contained in the Hungarian documents, or, when referring to them, they represented the negative environmental effects as unsubstantial, easily avoidable. The Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Slovak Academy of Sciences have so far not reacted to the documentation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

[Announcer] The Czechoslovak side evidently approaches this on the basis of its financial interests, and says that 80-90 percent of the installations on the Czechoslovak side have already been completed.

[Udvari] I think that in Hungary, with the exception of extremist opinions, but not at all in the Hungarian Government, has it been raised that the Dunakiliti reservoir, the Gabcikovo power plant, should not be put into operation. On the basis of the government's authorization, I have proposed setting up Hungarian-Czechoslovak economic and legal expert committees in the event that the inter-state agreement has to be modified for ecological reasons. The Czechoslovak side is not ready for this; this was stated by Government Commissioner Lokvenc. However, I know that they too have set up an economic committee, which will assess the prospective damage were we to halt the project. But the Czechoslovak side is not yet willing to discuss the possibility of holding prior consultations about this, or even perhaps of advancing towards a compromise. [End recording]

CSSR's Adamec To Discuss Dam

LD0907111289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Excerpt] In the interests of clarifying the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros issue, the Czechoslovak prime minister will visit Budapest in the second half of the month. This was agreed by Miklos Nemeth and Ladislav Adamec, when they met in Bucharest during the Warsaw Pact summit meeting. At the discussion between the two government heads, the Czechoslovak side urged the soonest possible decision about halting or continuing the construction of the water barrage. [passage omitted]

Israeli Energy Secretary Arad Holds Talks

LD0607210189 Budapest MTI in English 1229 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 6, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Dr. Nathan Arad, the Israeli state secretary of energy said to ECONEWS on Thursday that he had a very constructive talk in Budapest with Gyula Czipper, the Hungarian deputy minister of industry, on the possibilities of trade in energy products. The Israeli official arrived for a three day official visit to Hungary at the beginning of the week.

Mr Arad said that Israel has a stake in the world market of crude oil and coal, and promising possibilities can be utilized by Hungary in building up contacts with Israel in the energy trade.

Mr Arad did not exclude the possibility of third-party involvement, as, according to him, there is not too much energy to share in Hungary. He did not elaborate on the subject. Earlier, Israeli oficials mentioned several times their intention of finding some way to import Soviet oil and/or coal. Mr Arad also mentioned that there is a plan regarding mutual research in the field of energy development.

The visit of Mr Arad is partially a preparatory one for the expected visit in August of the Israeli energy minister.

World Jewish Congress Office Opens in Budapest

TA1107065989 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0600 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] World Jewish Congress offices were inaugurated in Budapest yesterday. This is the organization's first office in Eastern Europe.

Our correspondent Gid'on Remez reports that among the figures who attended the inauguration ceremony were members of the World Jewish Congress, including Congress President Edgar Bronfman; Shlomo Marom, Israel's envoy to Hungary; Mandel Kaplan, chairman of the Jewish Agency Board of Governors; and William Waldegrave, British minister of state for foreign affairs, who was visiting the Budapest Jewish community center at the time.

The Hungarian minister of culture and education said that his fellow countrymen were at fault in not having done enough in behalf of Hungarian Jews, adding that an effort will now be made to make amends.

Heads of the World Jewish Congress will meet with the Hungarian prime minister today. Congress President Bronfman will be awarded a honorary decoration by the parliament.

Parliamentary Party Group Sees GDR Delegation

LD0507111789 Budapest MTI in English 1751 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 4 (MTI)—The joint parliamentary work group of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) held its session in Budapest on July 3-4. The SPD delegation was led by Wolfgang Roth, member of the party's presidium and vice-president of the SPD parliamentary group and co-chairman of the work group. Its members included Fritz Gautier and Ludwig Stiegler, MPs [members of parliament], and Paul Loser, scientific staff-member of the SPD parliamentary group.

The HSWP delegation was led by Pal Ivanyi, member of the political executive committee and co-chairman of the work group.

The sides descussed the practical experience of development taking place in the FRG and in Hungary, and exchanged views on the state, and legal standing of officials in the FRG, the activity of the SPD carried out in plants and workplaces, and the conditions of work related to the election struggle.

The SPD delegation met Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP, and Karoly Grosz, general secretary, on Tuesday [4 July].

The Hungarian politicians reported on the state of Hungary, and reform efforts of the HSWP. They highly evaluated the increasingly diverse system of relations between the HSWP and the SPD, and took a stand to further develop cooperation. Also present at the cordial talks was Pal Ivanyi, member of the political executive committee and secretary of the Central Committee.

In his statement to the press, following his talks with the HSWP leaders, Mr Roth stressed that the most important condition in active support of Hungary in economic advance is security to be provided for the capital to be invested.

The SPD circles are of the opinion that the HSWP will be capable of seeing through the economic reform process which earlier was broken off, together with the painful decisions that accopmpany it.

Mr Roth and the SPD delegation met with representatives of all alternative organizations. An important lesson drawn by the FRG delegation from these talks was that all forces and organizations place emphasis on the peaceful realization and promotion of the changes. The delegation noted with satisfaction that the Social Democratic Party again exists in Hungary.

Mr Ivanyi also termed the talks useful. He stressed that issues related to the election fight, and the related SPD experiences, figured prominently in view of the parliamentary elections scheduled for next year. This is particularly important today as over the past decades, the HSWP did not need to carry out a genuine election fight with an active opposition.

EEC Agricultural Experts Visit, Hold Talks

AU0507171089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Jun 89 p 6

[Text] A delegation of the EEC Agricultural Cooperative Main Department (COGECA) has begun talks with the heads of the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives in Budapest. The talks will focus on the preparations of the Hungarian agricultural cooperatives to meet the demands of the creation of the single European market.

General Secretary Janos Eleki said that, because the EEC countries are very strict in regulating the hygenic requirements and packaging of foodstuffs, the National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives asked the COGECA to help in providing professional documentation, and to see to it that the Hungarian cooperatives receive the most complete information about the conditions required for cooperation. Part of the documentation will already be ready for the cooperatives this year.

More Austrians Asked for To Teach German

AU0707113289 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 7 Jul 89 p 4

["tom" report: "Hungary Asks Austria To Provide German Teachers"]

[Text] Budapest/Vienna—"Within the next 10 years we will need six times as many foreign language teachers as we have now. The United States has already promised to provide 100 teachers in the fall, and the FRG will send 37. They will train our students. Why should our neighbor Austria not also participate?"

Hungarian Culture Minister Ferenc Glatz asked Chancellor Vranitzky this question in a meeting in Mogersdorf in Burgenland, near the Hungarian border.

The background: Hungary has offered 40 positions for Austrian teachers, who would receive free accommodation and a salary of—by Austrian standards—only 10,000 forints, or some 2,500 schillings. It is uncertain who would have to pay for the visiting teachers's social security.

Minister Glatz told DER STANDARD that in the course of his school reform he had abolished Russian as a compulsory foreign language. Generally, the teaching of many foreign languages will now be promoted. However, in the near future and "on the road toward central Europe" the focus will be on extending economic relations with the FRG and Austria. This is why German plays a special role, Glatz said. "Austria is perfectly welcome to practice a kind of 'cultural imperialism' in this respect. It would be a pity if the FRG and the GDR were to send us teachers but not those who are so close to us," he concluded.

Nyers Addresses Economists' Congress

LD0207165189 Budapest MTI in English 1555 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 2 (MTI)—The 22nd itinerary congress of economists opened in Szombathely on Sunday. The 700 participants of the opening session, which was attended by several members of the government, were welcomed by Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and vice-president of the Society of Hungarian Economists.

Among others, Mr Nyers said that the process of improving the payments balance will temporarily be broken this year, as the conditions for improvement are not favourable. However, the bases for its further improvement should be created this year. The solution is to create a market practice which makes lasting and dynamic export growth possible. At the same time, improving the country's importing capability also should not be given up.

Discussing the property reform, Mr Nyers said this is a several years-long task of Hungarian economic professionals and the prevailing government, however, the decisive step should be made in the near future. It should be acknowledged that the utilization of capital exclusively as a national property would mean the road of slow development and relative poverty for Hungary. Utilization of foreign, or private capital is not anti-socialist, but is a pro- socialism policy. The government is preparing to launch the re-privatization process on the basis of this.

Radical reforms are unavoidable in the bilateral relations of the CEMA countries, and opportunities for this are offered mainly in the Soviet-Hungarian relation. We strive for intensive cooperation also with the EEC member countries, and the free trade zone, and the first steps have been taken to dismantle the earlier obstacles, Mr Nyers said.

He termed it a key issue of reforms to realize radical changes in the relation of the political and economic sphere. Today, party policy is no longer as needed in the economic sphere, the operation of economy, in the units, as it was in the past. However, the influence of the parties should be enforced amidst the multi-party system in the macro-sphere of economy, and efforts should be made for this influence to provide impetus, rather to disturb operation, said, among others, Mr Nyers.

Nyers Says Reform Circles Not Right Wing

LD0607100189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2200 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] According to Rezso Nyers, the reform circles must not be described as being right wing. It is incorrect to use such a designation within the party. The chairman of the party said at a meeting of Budapest reform circles, that two tasks must be linked together in order to realize the reforms: One is the transformation of economic and political models: the other is the prevention of a roll-back. Rezso Nyers stressed that ne who does not accept the ideal of democratic socialism shuts himself out of reform policy. The contributors rejected the most recent stand of the Budapest party committee, which says that it is necessary to isolate the extreme demands of the reform movement functioning in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's right wing, primarily the Budapest reform circle.

In connection with the election of congress delegates, an appeal entitled, Message to Our Party's Members, was adopted. In this, the reform circles stress that they are not just politicizing for the victory of the reform wing of the party leadership. They want a party in which the interest of society is always put in front of narrow party interests. At the meeting of reform circles, citizens were also called on to create a human chain on the eve of President Bush's visit between the embassies of the Soviet Union and the United States, thereby demonstrating that an important guarantee for the success of the Hungarian democratic endeavours is a continuation of the two great powers' dialogue.

National Bank-Monetary Fund Talks Reviewed

LD0607174289 Budapest MTI in English 1456 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 5 (MTI)—The National Bank of Hungary (MNB) made public the following communique on Wednesday on its talks held with the International Monetary Fund.

A year long stand-by loan agreement is in force between the Hungarian Government and the International Monetary Fund. In the agreement, the Hungarian Government set down its intentions related to improving the economic and financial balance, and the International Monetary Fund accepted that it would support the realization of these intentions also, by making available a loan of determined sum to the National Bank of Hungary.

Talks have been held over the past months on the prolongation of the mentioned loan agreement. Experts of the International Monetary Fund were of the evaluation that the current agreement can be upheld, or can be successful, only if further extremely strict monetary measures are taken to counter-balance the high budgetary deficit in the course of the year, as the effect of the package of measures approved by the National Assembly will be felt only gradually, and will become complete only at the end of the year. In view of the serious structural liquidity tensions existing in the economy, the national Bank of Hungary did not accept such measures as, for instance, the 4-5 percentage point increase in the MNB's loan rates or the tightening of the short-term re-financing credits by a further 20,000-25,000 million forints.

One stage of the talks has now ended, but negotiations are to be continued at the end of August or early September, with the reciprocal intention that a new agreement be prepared that would cover a longer period than the one currently in force. Experts of the International Monetary Fund and the Hungarian financial authorities agreed that the continued talks should aim at a credit agreement which will run for several years, depending on how the medium-term Hungarian economic and reform programme progresses.

The Hungarian Government is firmly committed to implementing the measures approved by parliament in the interests of improving the balance of the budget, and that it hold the deficit of the payments balance on an acceptable level by the selective operation of the monetary means, and to safeguard the country's solvency.

Success in Debt Owed to Hungary Being Repaid

AU1007122089 Budapest MTI in English 1237 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, Jul 07, (MTI)—The Hungarian Ministry of Trade is intensively negotiating with the country's foreign debtors and recently it has achieved some modest successes, Mr Tamas Beck, minister of trade told Hungarian journalists on Thursday.

By the end of the year, Iraq will pay USD 42 million, Algeria has shipped mining products, leather, and fruits to the value of USD 12 million, Lybia paid its debt of USD 20 million, Nigeria paid USD 12.5 million, and Iran USD 65 million. Peru promissed to deliver goods until the end of the year worth USD 2.5 million. These incoming payments, in both cash and kind, amount to USD 154 million.

World Bank Loan for Transportation Received

LD1007214489 Budapest MTI in English 1720 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Washington, July 10 (MTI)—On Monday, representatives of the World Bank and the Hungarian Government signed a loan agreement in Washington.

Under its terms, the international financial organization is to provide a 95-million-dollar loan related to transport development projects.

The loan has been raised by the Hungarian state. The World Bank provided the loan with a 15-year maturity, interest varying every six months adapting to the loan-raising costs, and a 5-year grace period.

Tripartite Partners Agree on Goodwill Committee

LD0607221389 Budapest MTI in English 1952 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 6 (MTI)—The representatives of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], the Opposition Roundtable (ORT), and the social organizations on the Third Side held their second medium-level consultation in Budapest on Thursday. The HSWP delegation was led by Imre Pozsgay, that of the Opposition Roundtable by Peter Tolgyessy, and that of the Third Side by Istvan Huszar.

After the consultations, the representatives of all the three sides gave an interview to MTI.

Mr Tolgyessy (ORT) said that the sides agreed on setting up a goodwill committee. This is not required as the debates since the political coordination talks have been very constructive at each level. At the same time, preparations should be made for the emergence of eventual obstacles in the course of talks. There should be a committee which attempts at coordinating the opinion of the sides in such cases. The ORT raised the idea of launching talks on the temporary financing of political parties.

Istvan Huszar (Third Side) termed the Thursday talks as successful. He said that a major advance was made, since not only statements of intentions were made but views exchanged on concrete topics supporting the political processes. Both sides showed greater tolerance than previously.

Gyorgy Fejti (HSWP) held the goodwill committee a useful idea. He added that the work of the political coordination talks can mainly be accelerated if the experts' work committees meet more frequently. He remarked that the public followed the talks with keen expectations. Although quick results have not been achieved, it is an important step that the experts have started their work.

Journalists Urge Discussion of Election Publicity

LD0507151589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] In a statement, the presidium of the National Association of Hungarian Journalists [MUOSZ] has drawn the attention of the participants in the trilateral talks to some issues pertaining to the publicity of the next elections. The association presidium emphasizes that, to date, most of those entitled to vote have not had the opportunity to avail themselves of their right to vote in free elections within the framework of a multiparty system. The press, MTI, radio, and television will have an especially major role in outlining the new election system, in publishing the parties' programs and in presenting their candidates. For this reason, the presidium of MUOSZ proposes that the negotiating sides come to agreement as soon as possible regarding the elections publicity rules.

Nyers Answers Entrepreneurs Interview Complaint

AU0307114989 Budapest MTI in English 1343 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 30 (MTI)—An open letter was addressed by the president of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] to the entrepreneurs who complained of the interview carried in the Monday's [26 June] issue of the party daily "NEPSZABADSAG":

"My phrasing was inaccurate in the interview carried in the June 26 issue of NEPSZABADSAG, detailing the HSWP policy towards entrepreneurs, which lead to misunderstandings. I take this opportunity to set forth my clear-cut views", says Rezso Nyers.

The HSWP intends to be present on the political scene as the party of the people, therefore it does not wish to distance itself in any way from small and medium size enterprising. Without the work of artisans, tradesmen, and others in the private sector, and even their wider strata, the nations' prosperity would be unconceivable. Therefore the economic policy of the party is, and will continue to be "entrepreneur friendly". In the interview, I only wanted to refer to the importance we attach to the system of interests, and particularly the interest of wage and salary earning employees.

In the interview, I also wished to indicate that employees constitute a much larger part of the citizens than entrepreneurs, and vindicating their individual interests is much more difficult. This is why we must pay specific attention to employees' interests.

Every entrepreneur, interpreting the people's interest in a progressive way, has, and will continue to have, a rightful place in the HSWP, and everybody accepting the ideological and political community is welcome in the ranks of the party," concludes the article carried in the Friday [30 June] issue of NEPSZABADSAG.

Interior Minister Unveils Organizational Changes

LD0307222789 Budapest MTI in English
1820 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 3 (MTI)—Minister of the Interior, Istvan Horvath, presented the organizational changes related to the expansion of the function of the ministry, at a national conference held in the ministry on Monday. The changes affect almost all major areas of the ministry.

The election office was set up in the interest of coordinating the council and public administration tasks. The office is to participate in working out election legal measures, and the organization of the elections and referenda. A refugee office has also been set up, and a public service department created to promote the state personnel activity, and coordinate personnel policy.

Of the former tasks of the ministry, the conception of state security work has changed. Guarantees are to be created for state security service not to become a means of the fight against views and serve daily political demands. The basis of the activity will be to uncover actions that violate the security of the nation.

Placing the organization of the police under unified direction was realized in the interests of promoting the efficiency of criminal investigation and crime prevention. The state security and criminal investigation organs have been merged. The new investigation organ is directed by the national police chief.

National Conference of Social Democrats Ends

AU0207191489 Budapest MTI in English
1841 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 2 (MTI)—The national conference of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary ended on Sunday in Budapest.

Mihaly T. Revesz, member of the board, said that the party wishes to become a member of the Socialist International.

Contributors to the debate over the draft programme proposed to take into consideration many points of view when preparing the new Social Democratic programme, which is scheduled to be approved at the congress planned for the end of the year. It became clear from the debate that, for the time being, members of the Social Democratic Party have rather differing views on the future character of the party, and the issues that it should place emphasis on its strategy.

New Youth Organization To Be Established

AU0607070289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Jul 89 p 5

[Text] "It is impossible to recover the years that have been lost. Whether we like it or not, the past is our heritage. Passionate debate on the past will not help the fact that we have been deceived. We can overcome today's bitterness only by a calm exchange of views and a political cooperation based on this, as well as by a new social practice"—this is what we can read in the declaration of intentions of the new political group called "New Generation".

The organizers of this youth organization will announce the creation of this new political group in the Petofi Hall today, 3 July. According to Ferenc Gyurcsany, one of the founders of this organization, it is impossible to color the world only black and white, nor can the young people, be divided into only pro-FIDESZ [Union of Young Democrats] or pro-DEMISZ [Democratic Youth Federation.] Reality is much more complex than that, and the "winners" have to emerge from the competition of several organizations. We do not have a world-saving program, nor do we believe that we can serve the world by placing blame upon each other. We believe in a peaceful transition for the renewal of society. We want a future party policy in which parents know that there is a place, means, and a reason for raising their children.

The new movement does not want to participate in the competition of the power elite because, while the various political organizations and parties are busy with themselves and with each other, several young generations in this country are wandering around by losing their ideals, values, and models.

Further Reports on Bush, Delegation Visit

Bush Lays Wreath at Ghetto Site

LD1007123789 Warsaw PAP in English
0753 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—President Bush this morning laid a wreath at the foot of the Umschlagplatz wall-monument, paying homage to thousands of residents of the Warsaw Ghetto who between 1942-1943 made their last journey to the gas chambers of Treblinka.

The monument was unveiled on April 19 last year on the 45th anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. For 300 thousand of the residents of ghetto, the Umschlagplatz railway platform was the last stage of their journey to the gas chambers of Treblinka.

During his previous visit to Warsaw in September 1987, Bush also paid homage to the participants of the ghetto uprising, laying a wreath at the foot of the monument to the heroes of the ghetto.

Bush Greeted by Sejm Officials

LD1007133889 Warsaw PAP in English
1246 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10: The National Assembly convened here today. The meeting is attended by U.S. President George Bush. The president was greeted by Wojciech Jaruzelski, speaker of the Sejm, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, speaker of the Senate Andrzej Stelmachowski. The president was greeted very warmly by deputies and senators.

Jaruzelski Welcomes Bush to Sejm, Senate

LD1007140189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1214 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Speech by President Wojciech Jaruzelski to the joint session of the Sejm and Senate in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, permit me to join in the words directed to you by the speaker of the Sejm. Your presence at a joint meeting of the Sejm and Senate of the Polish People's Republic has a particular significance. It symbolizes the new quality of relations between our countries, but at the same time their continuity, as the prseent has its roots in the past. Citizen Speaker, Citizen Deputies and Senators, in the history of our countries many joint pages have been written. They constitute the heritage of mutual friendship and regard. This is not just a rhetorical turn of phrase. Facts and figures sincerely close to us confirm it. Many eminent Poles honorably wrote themselves into the history of the United States. Millions of Americans have Polish blood in their veins, and remember their Polish roots.

This year, 70 years have passed since the establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the United States. We value the principles of President Woodrow Wilson, whose proclamation in January 1918 favored the rebirth of our statehood. We recall the humanitarian activity of Herbert Hoover. President Roosevelt called Poland the conscience of the world. This is an honorable name. Fate did not spare our nation tragic experiences. When the United States was shaping its political system, was building the foundations for a modern civilization, we lost our independence and spilled our blood in national insurrections. In almost every generation it was necessary to clear up ruins in this land, bury fallen heroes. Shortly there will pass half a century since the Hitlerite attack on Poland. To the young this may seem as distant as the charge of the cavalry at Savannah. For the old, the memory of the Second World War will never fade. You took part in it, winning honorable battle decorations. I, too, as a soldier of that war, am especially happy seeing you among us, in a city that was sentenced to death, and that for 45 years it has benefited from the gift of peace.

It is our very dearest wish that future generations should have a better start. When we think of the future we have in mind peace in all its dimensions: political, military, economic, humanitarian. They are dependent on one another.

Mr President! Poland and the United States belong to two different political-military groups. That is the course that post-war history has taken. Allied guarantees of national security lie in the best and most-deeply understood interest of Poland. However, we do not consider the Warsaw Pact to be the ultimate goal. It is worth recalling the proposal—put forward many times and repeated at the Bucharest meeting of the Political Advisory Committee—that the two existing blocs should be simultaneously dissolved, that the hatchet of war should be buried once and for all. The logical sequel to this would be the total withdrawal of all foreign armies from the territories of other countries.

Making a discerning assessment of dangers and chances we take a creative part in the process of consolidating the peaceful order. Poland is a sovereign country, a large country, on a European scale. Its stability and security are inextricably linked to the situation in the rest of the continent. They constitute a vital element in the relations between East and West. Therefore, I think I will not exaggerate if I say that that which is good for Poland is good for the peace of Europe and the world.

The world at the turn of the century should be receptive and mature enough for its variety to become a lasting constituent part of history. For this it is necessary to accept that there is not and cannot be a single remedy for all the ills of all nations at once.

Exactly a year ago, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke from this very spot. His visit opened a new chapter in the relations of Poland with her great Eastern neighbor. It confirmed once more the philosophy of new thinking. Today, we are hosts to you, Mr President. We value your views on

arms limitation, your sincerity toward our country. It is a good sign that in the last 12 months there have appeared in our capital, in Warsaw, in the Polish parliament, the leaders of the two leading super-powers of the modern world.

Mr President, history cannot be improved, but conclusions can be drawn from it. We are doing precisely that. Like every nation, we are not free from faults. However, we do have deeply ingrained in us the dignity, boldness, and patriotism that allowed us to survive even the cruellest tests of history. All nations have their pages of glory, but there probably are none whom the past has spared painful traumas and dramas. Your great country has known them too, starting from the fratricidal Civil War in the last century, through the numerous victims of social conflicts in the thirties of this century, up to the tragic results of the tensions that shook the United States at the end of the sixties.

You all the better understand, then, what a priceless asset national concord [zgoda narodowa] is, the resolution of differences in the spirit of the rule of law, in conditions of political culture and social calm. Your visit comes at a time of historical transformations in our country. We are boldly and irreversibly implementing deep social, political, and economic reforms. In this hall, in the parliament in which the President of the United States is today an honored guest, you will find eloquent proof that on the Polish road we desire to join boldness with reflection, desire with responsibility, national traditions with the demands of tomorrow. Much had to change and many people had to change. We all had to change so that today, precisely there, this could be said with deep conviction. The old motto of the United States reads E Pluribus Unum, unity from variety. Today, in the hall of the parliament of the Polish People's Republic, you can convince yourself that not only your countrymen think thus. The main social forces of our nation, directed by a feeling of mutual obligation, have shown that they can rise above rancor and divisions, reject small-mindedness, adopt together the work of reconstruction. This is not an easy road. Americans know that almost two centuries on, a hundred years after the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, the elementary truths of the fraternity of people and the equality of rights have not been spread without the opposition of a significant part of your countrymen.

We, too, have traveled an often painful road, lasting many centuries. Not for the first time in history we are faced with a difficult test. Today's Poland is a great, joint experiment. We are developing democracy and we shall continue to develop it. We understand it in its broadest sense, in a parliamentary dimension of territorial and workers' self-managements, of trade unions and associations. There is no sign-post which would induce us to turn back, but we do not want to follow unbeaten tracks. The basic test for the reforms which are being introduced is and will be their true efficacy, and this is a very difficult criterium since the judge is and will be the whole nation. Only those changes will survive the test of time which accord with the real aims of society, improve its lot, strengthen citizens' rights, and consolidate Poland's stability, security and international position.

We are wide-open to the world. We want to take advantage of good experiences, to transplant to Poland all solutions which promote human initiative, work productivity, and high economic efficiency. But we will not abandon the principles of social justice, the priceless values which took such deep root in our society during the past decades.

In the history of Poland another chapter has come to an end. It was not free of mistakes, delusions or even drama, but it leaves behind achievements which cannot be undermined: an independent country, secure within its frontiers, a potential of civilization such as Poland never had before, and, above all, the certainty that we can be masters in our own country. This is a great national asset. We are proud of it as only people who have braved fire and water can be. A new Poland is being born. By a common effort of our whole nation we are today beginning an unknown chapter in the saga of Poland's fate. Stepping onto this difficult road—of which you spoke, sir, at Warsaw Airport—we are fully aware that for the most part everything depends on ourselves.

But we do not want to be alone. We have many friends. I believe that Polish-American relations, our cooperation, will also confirm this. Yesterday evening you wished our soldiers well in Polish. We value this gesture. I judge that you also know the first words of our national anthem, "Poland has not yet perished." They express the unconsumed vitality of our nation. It is with this thought that we look to the future. [applause]

Mrs Bush Visits Children's Center

LD1007164689 Warsaw PAP in English
1525 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—President Bush's wife Barbara Bush today toured the Roza Czacka centre at Laski outside Warsaw which is home for about 300 blind children. Mrs Bush was accompanied by Sudan Baker, Helen Davis and Barbara Olechowski.

Barbara Bush met with the inmates of the centre at Laski and the Warsaw blind babies' home. In the local chapel Mrs Bush listened to the performance of Jolanta Kaufman, brought up at Laski, who sang "God Bless America."

At the end of the visit to the centre, Mrs Bush told journalists: It was a great pleasure to visit the centre at Laski, to meet with these wonderful women, marvellous children and to see what they are doing together, with faith and great conviction. I think that this has deeply impressed all of us. I am proud that, first, there are such

people at all, and second, that it was the Americans who presented a small portion of equipment for Laski (centre). I wish for our contribution to be greater.

'Sympathy' Marks Talks

LD1007193689 Warsaw PAP in English
1618 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—PAP has learned from sources close to the participants in today's talks that all the contacts and conversations between President George Bush and General Wojciech Jaruzelski were marked by a display of sympathy. Admiration for the Polish authorities' courage and consistency in introducing reforms was frequently stressed.

Official and unofficial statements made by the U.S. side today included phrases about the need of sacrifices and adjustment of the financial assistance package to the needs of a gradual evolution in the Polish economy and introduction of market mechanisms.

In other words, President Bush has not brought a quick and vast financial aid but proposed a friendly approach to Polish economic needs and support to Poland seeking credits from the International Monetrary Fund and the World Bank.

Officials Assess Talks

LD1007193989 Warsaw PAP in English
1800 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—Participants in the Polish-U.S. talks told PAP:

3rd Secretary of State James A. Baker

We have anticipated this visit for some time. I hope it will contribute to a major improvement of relations which is now quite evident. This testifies to the traditional friendship. I am under impression of the reception given to the President. We hope to encourage Poland for further work towards openness and free-market economy.

Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski

This is an important and well-timed visit. There is not too much politics in the talks. But there is a statement of a far-going interest in Poland in the context of changes our country is going through. There are also declarations about readiness to support our efforts in the economic sense, also on the internal plane.

White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater

The talks are going on very well. President Bush and General Jaruzelski had a long face-to-face meeting. We were given a warm reception by the Polish people and, I believe, the U.S. delegation is fully convinced that this is a good trip.

Chief adviser to Wojciech Jaruzelski, Wieslaw Gornicki

I think three points are noteworthy in the statements of the U.S. delegates. First: high, higher than before signs of recognition for the Polish leadership, including personal recognition for Wojciech Jaruzelski, for his courage and wisdom. These two words are frequently mentioned in various forms and planes. Second: There are clear assurances by the U.S. side that the United States has no intention to stimulate any split-up movements either in Poland or in the central European countries but it seeks stability not anarchy, with the word anarchy being mentioned by the American side. The Americans come here as loyal partners.

Third is the question of economic support for the changes which are taking place in Poland.

White House chief of staff John H. Sununu:

We must see to it that the assistance package is balanced and provides encouragement for further economic development and further progress in the political sphere. The Poles themselves gave to understand that they do not want loans, that they want cooperation. If Poland is to develop economically, it must develop its market-orientated industries.

Told by the journalists that all the assistance proposals did not involve too much money, which may disappoint the Poles, Sununu replied that Lech Walesa had also said that Poland did not need loans but cooperation and engagement. This was the starting point for the President preparing the package of cooperation with Poland. It includes some elements of financial support but first of all a pressure for cooperation, mutual engagement, and a stimulation for development of the private sector.

Spokesman on Visit's Importance

LD1107073489 Warsaw PAP in English
1142 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—Spokesman of Poland's president of the Council of State Lieutenant-Colonel Wieslaw Gornicki held a press conference here tonight.

We attach, he stated at the beginning, great importance to this visit. I do not have only state authorities in mind but also various other milieux. The accents of particular cordiality are striking in this visit. It is not a very frequent diplomatic category but also this time we may say, considering both the rhetoric and the frequency of such statements from the American side, of a demonstrative well-wishing for Poland as well as for the country's state authorities.

The other element that is visible in the course of the visit is its conciliatory character. Not even once have any phrases been used in all to-date talks which would be aimed at a destabilisation or aggravation of the situation

in Poland. I think that President Bush's mission, even before it has gone half-way through, in this respect may be called successful, Gornicki said.

Speaking about economic issues Gornicki emphasized that he perceived a certain difference between quite common expectations in Poland and what one can call concretization. There are many declarations, he said, and some of them are impressive. The problem lies in the fact that a week ago the president of the Council of State forwarded a letter to the seven leaders of the world's most industrialized countries which included both our intentions and expectations in the field of economy. The intentions are connected mainly with the concretization of further stages of economic reform, including the conversion of the economy into a market economy and taking measures envisaged by adjustment programmes of the International Monetary Fund.

The letter marked the end of the epoch of generalities both on our side and on the side of our Western partners. Mrs Margaret Thatcher was the first politician to have broken that "vicious circle".

The spokesman pointed to a repeatedly emphasized respect of the U.S. Government and of President Bush himself for Polish authorities, for General Jaruzelski for the consistency, determination, and something that one could call honesty in the continuation of the line of reforms.

At the request of reporters Gornicki characterized the Polish-American agreement which had been signed on Monday. The agreement concerns two economic accords which boil down to a rescheduling of Polish debt amounting to 940 million dollars. It is not a donation but putting off the payment of the debt. One can but admit that it is a great help for Poland in the current situation. Besides, an agreement was signed on the creation of a fund for educating Polish managing personnel which is to amount to 100 million dollars. Yet, this still needs to be approved by the U.S. Congress. The third signed agreement concerned an exchange of culture centres of both countries. It is unquestionable that a real progress in bilateral relations has thus been achieved, Gornicki added.

Jaruzelski Addresses Dinner

LD1007221789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2022 GMT 10 Jul 89

['Text' of address given by President Wojciech Jaruzelski at dinner to honor U.S. President and Mrs George Bush at the Council of Ministers Palace on 10 July in Warsaw; recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, esteemed Mrs Bush, esteemed guests: Once again I have the honor to welcome you, Mr President, outstanding statesman, and leader of the American people, with whom Poles have been linked by long bonds of friendship and liking. I cordially welcome your wife, Mrs Barbara Bush. We are also pleased to see in our capital Mr Secretary of State, the national security adviser, and other persons in the delegation.

In Poland we have often hosted outstanding U.S. politicians. In 1946, Supreme Commander of allied troops in Europe, later President General Dwight Eisenhower, stayed in Warsaw. His archival photographs against the background of burned-out houses and ruins have been preserved. In another historic moment, it was from Warsaw that President Gerald Ford left for Helsinki to sign the Final Act at the security and cooperation conference.

Your present visit clearly demonstrates that our countries are earnestly interested in further improvement and speedy development of mutual relations. I am glad that both of us can today consider it an obvious fact. We have inherited long-lasting traditions and bonds; millions of Americans of Polish extraction live in the United States, they retain sentiment toward their old fatherland. Both our nations have been linked by the participation in the great anti-fascist coalition; the road to victory was paid for with millions of lives, including those of Polish and U.S. troops.

In your war cemeteries one can often see Polish names. There were also difficult years during which Polish-U.S. relations underwent difficult tests. We do not wish to return to the trauma and emotions of the time. First of all, we must look to the future, erect a kind of bridge across the Atlantic. Let the pillars of the bridge be firm, let our relations be always characterized by mutual respect, trust, and friendliness. You are well aware of difficulties facing Poland, mainly in the economic field.

A few days ago I addressed a personal letter to you and to leaders of the West's highest industrialized countries. It defines our needs and expectations connected with further reformation of the Polish economy.

Our talks today have delineated new, more broad possibilities for Polish-U.S. cooperation. We have always valued U.S. pragmatism, the real ability of your nation to meet a great challenge at the half-way point. We are convinced that under your leadership, at a time of so many and such deep changes being made in the world, including Poland, those charateristics will be fully confirmed.

A stable, democratic, and secure Poland is not only an internal national matter; it is also a sensitive seismograph of the European situation, an important factor in the entirety of East-West relations. I am extremely pleased that our U.S. guests share that opinion.

President, your visit in the autumn of 1987 paved the way for normalizing relations. You stood on the threshold of an electoral campaign to the office of U.S. President, a campaign which later ended in victory. You are well known and respected in Poland; all the more so we feel satisfaction at the continuation of a constructive dialogue at the highest state level. The all but 2 years

which separate us from your previous visit are in an historical sense a very short period, but in the life of states and nations there are moments of particular significance. They cannot be assessed with a normal yardstick. Poland finds itself at such a moment today. The roundtable initiated a process of forming a Polish model of parliamentary democracy. We have entered that path permanently. The recent elections created the possibility for the broad participation of the main political forces in the system of the functioning of the state. Joint responsibility for its fate, for its welfare, and for its position in Europe and in the world is bound to this. Simultaneously, it is a great historical experiment. Its success is a great chance for Poland.

President, you are paying this visit in an exceptionally eventful year. Soon 50 years will have passed since German reich's aggression against Poland. Our nation never fell to its knees; the country did not cease to resist, and Polish soldiers fought on the majority of the allied fronts. Every fifth citizen died; the occupation reduced our towns and villages to ashes and annihilated the material achievements of many generations. We raised the capital from ruins with our bare hands and we started for a successive time to rebuild our native home.

Today, although things are so difficult, we know that this is our common, rebuilt, and developed home. We recall this anniversary so that the memory of the immeasurable destruction and the suffering war brings will not be lost in the consciousness of successive generations. We do this all the more forcefully because claims continue to be made that undermined the foundations shaped as a result of World War II, the stability of the territorial and political order. Permanent and lasting peace can only be a common effort, the fruit of far-reaching imagination and patient dialogue. Past experiences command Poles to think precisely in this way and to act in this spirit.

Great powers carry an exceptional responsibility for the future of Europe and the world. The improvement in USSR-U.S. relations strengthens the foundations of peace and has a positive influence on the entirety of international relations. We have received the disarmament proposals presented by you, sir, during the summit meeting of leaders of the Atlantic treaty alliance, with proper attention, interest, and recognition. The recent meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-states confirmed the decided will for detente and disarmament. The agreement on the elimination of short and intermediate-range missiles, the continuing talks on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons and ban on chemical weapons, the realistically appearing chance for a reduction in conventional forces in Europe, and the evolution of the approach to military doctrines, strengthen hopes for further progress. Europe and the world await this. We desire it in Poland.

Mr President, I would like to express sincere satisfaction with the talks we conducted, with their content and atmosphere. I am convinced that your visit will become an important, historic event in the development of Polish-U.S. relations. Please allow me to express, through you, sincere and best wishes to the great American people. I propose a toast to your health and prosperity, Mr President, and to your wife, to the health of all U.S. guests, to friendship between our peoples and states, to peace.

Baker Addresses News Conference

LD1107082389 Warsaw PAP in English
0148 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—At a press conference staged here today for journalists accredited at the White House and for some Polish newsmen, U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker answered questions on normalization of economic relations with Poland, on the six-point proposal presented by President Bush in the Polish parliament and on political aspects of his visit to Poland.

James Baker stressed that assistance of the Western countries, the United States included, for Poland will depend on the extent to which Poles will help themselves first.

Commenting on the course of talks of President Bush with General Jaruzelski and with Premier Rakowski, Baker assessed them positively and pointed to the fact that Polish politicians are aware of the necessity of sacrifices. On his part, he conditioned Western coordinated economic action for Poland on convergence of the governmental adjustment programme with requirements of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

James Baker stated that inflation in Poland is too high and state subsidies too large and added that political developments in Poland must be taken into account in Washington and hence American declaration to hold talks with the IMF and the World Bank.

One of the questions concerned immediate assistance worth ten billion dollars postulated by the "Solidarity". Baker said that 60 percent of the sum might be an outcome of rescheduling of the Polish debts while four billion dollars might come from the IMF and the World Bank.

Summary of Bush Activities

LD1107090289 Warsaw PAP in English
0039 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—

Ceremony at Tomb of Unknown Soldier

The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Plac Zwyciestwa Square in Warsaw is a special place for all Poles. Officials from around the world, state leaders visiting Poland pay homage to thousands of Polish soldiers who fell in struggle for Poland's independence at this site symbolizing the highest devotion to the fatherland.

U.S. President George Bush began his Monday visit in Warsaw by laying a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Numerous residents of Warsaw gathered in the square. The ribbon on the wreath read in Polish and English: "Od Narodu Stanow Zjednoczonych—From the People of United States of America."

The U.S. President was briefed on the history and traditions symbolized by the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, including the history of the struggle of Poles for freedom, independence and progress which is tied with the great traditions of Polish-American brotherhood-in-arms dating back to the American War of Independence and such figures as Tadeusz Kosciuszko and Kazimierz Pulaski. Other pages of Polish-American brotherhood-in-arms are associated with World War One when Americans of Polish descent joined Polish troops fighting for independence and thousands of them joined the Polish Army under the command of Gen Haller.

Polish and American soldiers have fought alongside on many battlefields of World War Two, particularly the Western Front: Monte Cassino, Bologne, Normandy, the Battle of Falaise, and the East Front—the meeting between soldiers of the First Polish Army and the 9th American Army on the banks of the Elbe on May 3 1945.

The following laid wreaths at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier: Gen Dwight Eisenhower, and the then Presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald R. Ford, and Jimmy Carter. George Bush also laid a wreath here as Vice President barely two years ago.

President Bush attentively listened to information about the war fortunes of the Polish nation, about the efforts and heroism of the Polish soldier on all fronts of World War Two. He stopped at each of the commemorative plaques listing the battlefields. The Poles took part in the war which broke out at Westerplatte on September 1, 1939 from the very start and up to the victory in its end. They fought in defence of Norway, France, in the Battle of Britain, they defended Tobruk, fought for the liberation of Italy, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and fought in Belorrussia on the Eastern Front. The Polish Navy operated in the Baltic and the Mediterranean Seas. Polish ships took part in Atlantic convoys. In May 1945 Polish units in the West totalled about 200 thousand soldiers and the revived Polish Army in the east numbered about 400 thousand soldiers. About one million Poles were actively engaged in covert operations in the Polish resistance.

At the Umschlagplatz

Umschlagplatz in Warsaw is a site which symbolizes both the Jewish holocaust and the revival in Poland of remembrance of common fortunes of Poles and Jews expanding through 40 generations. The Umschlagplatz Monument-Wall unveiled on April 19 last year on the 45th anniversary of the outbreak of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, is the last part of a commemorative road leading from the monument to the heroes of the ghetto through streets of the former closed Jewish district. For over 300 thousand residents of the ghetto the loading platform at Umschlagplatz was the last stage of their journey to the gas chambers of Treblinka. The commemoration of the road of Jewish matryrology was carried out by the municipal authorities of Warsaw with the cooperation of World Jewish Organizations and the American Joint Distribution Committee. The Nissenbaum Family Foundation founded in 1985 is engaged in renovating over 600 Jewish cemeteries which exist in Poland. The Social Committee for Protection of Jewish Cemeteries and Monuments of Jewish Culture in Poland has entered care for the Jewish heritage in Poland into its statute. A foundation of Jewish presence, founded at the initiative of well- known American writer of Polish descent Jerzy Kosinski, has recently signed an agreement with the authorities of Krakow on renovating the old Jewish district in the city, Kazimierz.

President Bush arrived in Umschlagplatz after 9 a.m. He laid a wreath at the foot of the wall-monument and with a moment of deliberation paid homage to the thousands of residents of the Ghetto who set out on their last journey from here between 1942-1943. The ribbon on the wreath read "from the people of United States of America" in Polish and English.

Bush acquainted himself with the history of Umschlagplatz and the symbolics of the monument. He met with representatives of the Jewish community, among them the Chief Rabbi of Poland Pinas Menahem Joskowicz, chairman of the Socio-Cultural Association of Jews Szymon Szurmiej and participants of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising: Marek Edelman, the last surviving leader of the uprising and Zygmunt Nissenbaum, the founder and president of the Nissenbaum Foundation.

During his previous visit to Warsaw in September 1987, Bush paid homage to the participants of the Ghetto Uprising by laying a wreath at the foot of the monument of the heroes of the Ghetto. Hence, he has visited two places which are most closely associated with the struggle and martyrdom of Warsaw Jews during World War Two.

Following the ceremony, the president and wife approached Warsaw residents gathered near the monument, shaking scores of hands and responding to cordial greetings.

Talks at the Belvedere

President George Bush and President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski met at the seat of the Council of State, the Belvedere. The meeting was attended by the President's National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and director of the 3rd Department of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Kazimierz Duchowski.

Wojciech Jaruzelski recalled that George Bush visited the same room of the Belvedere during his previous visit to Poland. "I remember it well," replied President Bush. Both leaders referred to the weather, President Bush added that it is conducive to successful talks.

The Bush-Jaruzelski meeting lasted for two hours and a half.

At the same time Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski and U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker held talks in a separate room. Before the talks, both ministers signed a Polish-U.S. agreement on a reciprocal creation of centres of culture and information and two documents on rescheduling of Poland's debts.

The talks, co-chaired by Tadeusz Olechowski and James Baker, were attended from the Polish side by Minister of Finance Andrezej Wroblewski, Secretary of State at the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations Andrezej Wojcik, Underesecretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski and Poland's Ambassador to the U.S. Jan Kinast. From the U.S. side the talks were attended by U.S. ambassador to Poland John R. Davis Jr., the President's National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, Adviser of the Department of State Robert Zoelick and Director of the Department of State Dennis Ross.

Opinions of U.S. and Polish politicians on the talks will be moved separately.

Minutes past 2 p.m. George Bush and his wife arrived at the Sejm. They were accompanied by Secretary of State James A. Baker.

In the main lounge, they were greeted by: President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife, Sejm Speaker Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, Senate Speaker Professor Andrezej Stelmachowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski, Ambassadors: Jan Kinast and John R. Davies Jr. Members of both parliamentary chambers gave the guests a standing ovation and sang the traditional Polish "Sto Lat" (May You Live a Hundred Years).

A gala meeting to which came government members with Prime Minister Rakowski, chiefs of many diplomatic representations, representatives of the leaderships of parties and political associations, and journalists, was opened by Mikolaj Kozakiewicz.

Addressing the guests Kozakiewicz emphasized the symbolic nature of the fact that the first joint meeting of the Sejm and senate is being held on the occasion of the first in history address by a U.S. President from the rostrum of the Polish Parliament.

We want to learn from any good experience of the world's civilization. We hope to be able to widely use the tradition and experience of both chambers of the U.S. Congress. We are very much expecting frequent and direct contacts between our deputies and senators and U.S. congressmen and senators, the contacts whose usefulness and weight have already been confirmed by the experience of the recent three years, the Sejm speaker said.

Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke next, and than George Bush's speech followed.

After President Bush's address, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz thanked him on behalf of the deputies and senators for accepting the invitation and addressing the session, and voiced the opinion that this speech would be discussed and analysed in every Polish home not only because of its weight and the essence it carried but also because of the significance of the Polish-U.S. relations.

After his meeting with the Sejm and Senate George Bush was invited by Wojciech Jaruzelski to a meeting with representatives of Polish authorities. The guests were shown the original of the 1791 Consititution, the first in Europe and second after the American, modern constitution which helped shape a nation of parliamentary democracy.

The visit of George Bush to the House of Parliament lasted a little longer than on hour. Minutes past 3 p.m. the President left the Parliament.

Meeting at the Office of the Council of Ministers

In the afternoon President George Bush met with Poland's Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski at the office of the Council of Ministers.

Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula, Ministers: Tadeusz Olechowski, Mieczyslaw Wilczek, Andrzej Wroblewski and Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Wojcik, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski and Ambassador Jan Kinast took part in the meeting on the Polish side.

The American side was represented by members of the official delegation accompanying George Bush during his visit to Poland.

At U.S. Ambassador's Residence

On this busy Monday President Bush visited twice the residence of U.S. ambassador to Poland John R. Davis Jr.

Before noon the U.S. ambassador gave a lunch in his residence on the occasion of President Bush's visit to Poland. Present were President of Poland's Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and wife, Sejm and Senate Speakers Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski, Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rawkowski and several dozen representatives of various political forces and

millieux. Among the guests there were also representatives of the parliamentary opposition with Bronislaw Geremek, Andrzej Wielowieyski, Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron.

President Bush welcomed the guests and referring to his morning talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski stated that his country and the world are inspired by Poland's success at the roundtable and by implementation of its settlements.

The president gave a toast in honour of Wojciech Jaruzelski and his aides, of the "Solidarity", of the roundtable process and of all the guests who rendered the process possible, of the whole Polish society.

Thanking for the President's kind and warm words Wojciech Jaruzelski said that he highly appreciates today's long talks. I think, he said, they have facilitated better acquaintance and understanding profitable for development of friendship and cooperation between our nations and countries.

Speaking at the meeting, Professor Geremek stressed that the future of Polish reforms depends only on Poles. We do not expect that somebody will do them for us or that we will do that at someone's cost. We hope that the reforms will be understood in the world as serving the world, Geremek said.

On the other hand, the meeting of the U.S. President with a Polish youth baseball team and league activists held at the court of the Ambassadors residence in the afternnon, was of entirely unofficial character.

About thirty boys, who sat on the lawn in front of the terrace decorated with guidons of Polish baseball teams warmly greeted President Bush. They also noticed baseball sets brought as a gift for Polish young players.

President Bush encouraged the boys to practice the sport and then stripped off his jacket, donned a catcher's mitt and swapped pitches with the boys for a few minutes praising their deftness.

The meeting was a kind of introduction of baseball to Poland.

In the Palace of the Council of Ministers

In the evening Poland's president of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and wife received U.S. President George Bush and his wife at an official dinner. The reception held in the Palace of the Council of Ministers here was attended by the American delegation accompanying the president during his visit. On the Polish side present were: the speakers of the Sejm and the Senate Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski, members of the government with Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairmen of political parties and associations, organizations preocupied with Polish-American cooperation, deputies and senators.

At the reception both statesmen delivered speeches.

On Tuesday President Bush and his entourage will be paying a visit to the Gdansk region. Westerplatte, a place where World War II began 50 years ago, will be an important stage of this part of the itinerary. The President, accompanied by Wojciech Jaruzelski, will pay homage to soldiers who died in defence of that piece of Polish land.

On the same day Bush will be received at a luncheon at Lech Walesa's apartment in Oliwa.

Sightseeing tour of the old town of Gdansk will complete the visit to Poland by President George Bush and his wife.

U.S. Economic Assistance Program Viewed

LD1107081989 Warsaw PAP in English
0229 GMT 11 Jul 89

["American Programme of Economic Cooperation With Poland"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—White House spokesman issued here today an extensive plan of assistance to Poland, being a document which includes condensed proposals of economic cooperation that had been announced by President George Bush in his speech delivered at a joint meeting of Polish Sejm and Senate today, as well as interpretation of particular items of the proposals.

The package offered by President Bush embraces: a coordinated international action, Polish-American enterprise fund, loans from the World Bank, rescheduling of debt payments, initiative concerning environmental protection, and establishment of culture and information centres.

The coordinated action for Poland and Hungary will be proposed by President Bush at the Paris summit-of-seven. The action is aimed at backing economic reforms in Poland and Hungary. The measures taken in this field envisage including the Polish and Hungarian governments in the action, as well as these governments cooperation with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Commission of the EC, and other multi-nation and private institutions.

Particular issues which will be undertaken in this field include: Economic reforms, scheduling and creating conditions for new credits, concrete backing of the processes of privatization and development of private economy, as well as projects in the field of environmental protection and management.

The Polish American enterprise fund will be established according to an assumption that the economic renewal in Poland requires a major shaping of the spirit of entrepreneurship and its fast development. The President will

ask the U.S. Congress for 100 million dollars for that purpose. The fund will be controlled by a group of outstanding representatives of the United States and Poland.

As for loans from the World Bank, the U.S. will encourage the institution to grant Poland credits amounting to 325 million dollars which will be aimed at increasing the competitiveness of Polish exports through the restructuring of industry and the development of agriculture. The loans would be given for 17 years, with a six-year period of suspended payments.

In the field of bilateral agreements on debt rescheduling the programme will include American support in the Paris Club for an early and generous differment of payment of the Polish debt. The White House document states that the two agreements signed on July 10, 1989 in Warsaw on the rescheduling of Polish payments owed to the U.S. from the years 1985 to 1987 are opening up a way for further similar agreements between Poland and its creditors. The document says that the agreement with the Paris Club will normalize Polish foreign financial relations and will create a legal ground for granting loans to Poland meant for boosting exports.

Dailies Welcome Improved Polish-U.S. Relations

LD1007104189 Warsaw PAP in English 0942 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—All leading newspapers carry today commentaries on the ongoing Polish visit of President Bush. The ZYCIE WARSZAWY daily in its frontpage commentary headlined "Favourable Time" said in part:

"The President of the United States came here at a favourable time.

"The President definitely undoes the remnants of the period of deep deterioration of the Washington-Warsaw relations after 1981.

"A new stage has opened in the relations between both countries. This may be a period in which the United States will notice not only the rank of the goals which the Poles set for themselves, but also the rank of Polish needs, and will also be able to contribute to meeting economic expectations of the Polish side in order to support the reformatory programme which is being implemented here."

The TRYBUNA LUDU paper picks up the same theme, saying in part that "the programme of the visit envisages talks which are to begin the new stage in Polish-American cooperation.

"We mean here a stage in the relations that would foster overcoming Poland's difficulties and serve building the new Europe based on reciprocal confidence and understanding," the paper said.

Bush Visit Opens 'New Chapter' in Relations

AU1007195589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8-9 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[Commentary by Maksymilian Berezowski: "To Meet Contemporary Challenges"]

[Text] President George Bush's visit to Poland opens a new chapter in Polish-American relations. This is because of the qualitatively new nature of the political setup in our country and the new view of the conditions for coexistence and cooperation in decisionmaking centers in the East and the West.

With the exception of a few years in the present decade, official contacts between Poland and the United States have for decades been better than relations generally between the world's two main powers. There have been many reasons for this including the desire to maintain traditional ties between Poland and the country with the largest Polish community and the readiness of the Polish establishment, which broke out of the chains and rules of the cold war earlier than others, to institute reforms.

Today, Poland is on the frontline—we say this without any conceit, but it is an indisputable fact—of the changes that are embracing Hungary—where the President will be traveling straight from Gdansk—and the Soviet Union, with which Poland is conducting an intense dialogue of great importance.

We also see this reform course as a contribution to the creation of international relations that are entirely different from the models that have existed until now, ones in which there will be no place for confrontation and hostility. Mikhail Gorbachev was a harbinger of this when he said that the security of one state should not be attained at the expense of a lack of a feeling of security on the part of another state. President Bush responded positively to this when he rejected the outdated doctrine of "containment," which was binding on U.S. strategy for a long time.

Thus, in the person of President Bush, we see a statesman who wishes to meet the challenges of the time and involve the United States in international renewal by responding to the bold changes that are taking place in our part of Europe. It would be unrealistic to ignore the differences that divide the world's capitals, but one would be blind not to note the unifying tendencies that exist. It suffices to cite the similarities between the latest proposals on both sides concerning reductions in conventional forces in Europe.

The overcoming of divisions on our continent has started, although quite a few obstacles still remain. According to American information, the White House has decided to accord more attention to these problems and to move them from the sidelines to the center of American policy. President Bush's administration will also undoubtedly note the revival of actions directed

against Polish national interests, the statements originating from governing circles in the FRG, which are striking by virtue of being so out of step with the current atmosphere and put spokes on the wheels of the party of European rapprochement.

Poland belongs to this party by the very nature of things. We also appreciate President Bush's words on the need for evolutionary changes that ensure stability. The President said: "We are going to Poland in a constructive spirit, not a critical one; we do not want to complicate matters for anyone in any way."

We view President Bush's decision to accept the invitation to visit Poland during the first 6 months of his term of office as an expression of understanding for the complexity of our affairs. As we know, during his first visit to Poland almost 2 years, the then vice president was dealing with a country that lived according to political norms that are different from those that exist today. The breakthrough that has been achieved thanks to the efforts of all the main forces operating in our arena has made Poland the outpost of European hope. This may be a laudable position, a pioneering one, but it is also undoubtedly a difficult and responsible one, especially in light of the economic difficulties that we are experiencing.

We would like to believe that our American partners in talks are fully aware of the fact that the Poles' future depends on the success of the entire package of Polish political and economic reforms—that is obvious—but that its success also has a significant bearing on the course of events beyond Poland's borders. We are not acting as Europe's Messiah—that is far from being our intention—however, we would be acting with excessive reticence if today we failed to once more draw attention to the integral nature of European history, because vocal recognition of this fact by itself is undoubtedly inadequate if it is not followed up by anything.

During last week's interview for the Polish press, President Bush said: "I have aspirations for Poland that stem from the heart." Speaking in Detroit in April of this year, he recalled that during his fall 1987 visit to Poland he promised that "the American people and the American Government will respond rapidly and imaginatively to important internal reforms of the kind that we are currently witnessing."

We are awaiting President Bush in Warsaw and Gdansk all the more eagerly in the belief that his Yankee pragmatism and understanding of the needs of Poland and Europe will make this important visit fruitful and useful.

Bush Visit Key to Western Support for Reforms

AU1007140689 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Jul 89 p 7

[Maksymilian Berezowski commentary: "Time is More Than Money—Bush's Upcoming Visit to Poland"]

[Text] President Bush's upcoming visit to Poland has for obvious reasons become the subject of worldwide comment. It is unnecessary to have to explain that this visit has little to do with what is formal or routine; a routine on which diplomatic chancelleries arrange their calendar of formal visits.

This visit has been accelerated by the fundamental transformations which Poland has embarked on, a real improvement in Polish-American relations, and the global improvement of East-West relations. As President Bush has himself stated, his visit to Poland is to actively demonstrate American interest in Poland and to show support for the changes which are taking place there.

On our side, we greet with great delight this expression of interest by the U.S. President and his confirmation that he has no intention of complicating the situation and relations which prevail in our part of the continent. In our minds, the disappearance of the Cold War, in which process the new administration of the United States is actively engaged by widening the dialogue between Washington and Moscow, confirms the above intentions.

It is no secret to anyone that, as a result of the very difficult economic situation in which Poland finds itself, any translation of the expressions of good will for the changes taking place on the Vistula into practical action, is of particular significance. President Bush reacted quickly to the accord reached at the "roundtable," and in his 17 April statement he signaled the setting into motion of several economic and financial steps, which have a political as well as a symbolic meaning and are significant in the long-term.

In the almost 3 months which have elapsed from that date, many official, semi-official, and unofficial statements which relate to the rendering of assistance to the Polish reforms, have been made in the United States. In the interview given to the Polish press, the President himself said that: "We want to help you in the economic sense." Positive declarations of support for the Polish economic reforms have also been made at various levels of the U.S. Administration.

Simultaneously, however, representatives of the U.S. Administration have on several occasions stated that the extent of this support is to be limited. Referring to these pronouncements, the authoritative American newspaper the WALL STREET JOURNAL wrote a few days ago that Washington "is painstakingly preparing a series of mini-initiatives."

What is more important is the fact that hitherto the West has not unblocked any credit lines, which one knows, urbi et orbi, is making the process of Polish economic reforms impossible, although declarations of support for this process have repeatedly been made. In this way, a vicious circle is formed; it is not possible to implement reforms without credits, and no credits are being granted because there is no sight of any reforms.

Speculating about the future, we hope that as a result of his stay in Poland and his talks with the authoritative personalities of the various fundamental political orientations, President Bush will be able to convince himself that in order to break out of the vicious circle we will require really fast decisions on the part of our Western partners, for whom the opinion of the U.S. President is the most authoritative. This fact should not surprise or cause embarrassment to anyone.

A famous American saying states that "time is money." Today we would add that time is more than money.

Bush Views on Soviet Troop Withdrawals Panned

AU1007135789 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 7 Jul 89 p 2

[Commentary by Lieutenant Colonel Andrzej Fryszkiewicz: "A Double Standard"]

[Text] It was to be expected that the interview that George Bush gave to the Polish press—on the eve of his official visit to our country—would arouse understandable interest on the part of political circles and public opinion in a broad sense. The U.S. President's position on issues as important as peace on our continent or his vision of "a common European home" cannot be matters of indifference to the world. That is why leading analysts and commentators studied every part of the President's statement with great care. The President made numerous references to the military status quo in Europe, which was of particular interest to military commentators. One response was the statement made by Vladimir Chernyshev, the TASS military commentator.

The journalist accurately appraised George Bush's intentions concerning the demilitarization of Europe, which he referred to as "wishes couched in double standards" Chernyshev does not conceal his surprise at the fact that the U.S. President "artificially removes the security problem of the country that he will visit from the broader context of maintaining the Warsaw Pact's defensive capability." He asks a very straightforward question: If Bush believes that there is no threat to peace in Europe, then why does he not propose the complete withdrawal of American forces from the FRG, and why does he not mention this as a possibility in relation to the French forces, or the British forces on the Rhine. This would be useful from every angle, and it would be an encouraging move, and—at a time when the USSR has started on the planned withdrawal of further military units stationed in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Poland—would furnish material proof of the nature of his intentions.

In his commentary, the TASS journalist stresses that the U.S. President employs dual vision with respect to this problem. The mechanism is relatively simple. The President's interview clearly indicates that George Bush does not consider the presence of Soviet forces in Poland—one can assume that this also applies to their presence in other Warsaw Pact states—within the context of European security. He consider these things in isolation and in a way that would suggest that the Soviet Union has not done anything at all so far to reduce its defensive strength in Europe. However, almost every day now we witness very concrete facts and not just declarations, and this also applies to our country.

Moreover, Vladimir Chernyshev's critical observations are fully convergent with our own position on disarmament. This was reflected in what Zbigniew Broniarek had to say in TRYBUNA LUDU in the commentary that he wrote shortly after the interview, which he also took part in. TRYBUNA LUDU's Washington correspondent noted that George Bush spoke "more than spontaneously" about the call for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland. The TRYBUNA LUDU journalist also asks questions about the President's dual approach and his inconsistency, noting that the President continues to use terms such as "enormous superiority," which Western military experts and negotiators have long since removed from their vocabulary.

Thus, viewed in very general terms, in many commentaries, including the one by Vladimir Chernyshev, one can detect a call for the abandonment of spontaneity and superfluous emotion in favor of hard facts and goodwill.

Soviet CW Battalion Leaves Wroclaw Kozanow

LD1007193189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Already the third unit forming part of the northern group of the forces of the Soviet army has been withdrawn. At Wroclaw Kozanow a ceremonial farewell of the Soviet independent chemical warfare defense battalion took place. [passage omitted] The column of Soviet vehicles left the town at 1000.

Michnik on Abandonment of Brezhnev Doctrine

LD0407124689 Warsaw PAP in English 1054 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 4—In a commentary headlined "Farewell to Brezhnev's Doctrine" Adam Michnik wrote in the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarnosc daily today among other things:

"The abandonment by the USSR's state leadership of the Brezhnev doctrine on 'limited sovereignty' must result in a new programme of agreement of 'the free with the free, the equal with the equal,' of agreement between sovereign states and nations.

"Gorbachev is right in saying that never can the welfare of one nation be achieved at the cost of restricting rights and freedoms of another nations.

"We appreciate the evolution that our Eastern neighbour has already undergone and still does in its relations with the Warsaw Treaty states—from military interventions

in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan that aroused helpless anger and moral aversion to the policy of today marked by tolerance and imagination.

"We try to think, speak and write about the Polish-Soviet relations free from tanks blackmail, with a realistic sense of national and state interests of all concerned. We try to uproot the Stalinist legacy to the end," Adam Michnik concluded.

Comment on Postponement of Kohl's Visit

AU1007200089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with Ernest Kucza, Polish People's Republic Government negotiator, by PAP journalist Juliusz Solecki: "The Time of the Visit Has Not Been Agreed On"—date and place not given]

[Text] How are we to react to the news given by Klein, the FRG Government spokesman, that Helmut Kohl's visit to Poland has been postponed? This was the question that Juliusz Solecki, PAP journalist, put to Ernest Kucza, who was appointed by the Polish premier as the Polish Government's special negotiator in relation to the preparations of the FRG Chancellor's visit to Poland.

[Kucza] It is difficult to talk of a postponement, or a cancellation of the visit, as the date of July was unilaterally proposed by the FRG.

In accordance with accepted principles, decisions relating to visits can only be agreed bilaterally.

It must be stressed that during the current negotiations both sides were agreed that one of the fundamental conditions for the success of the visit is that the interests of both countries should benefit.

In the negotiations that I have had with with Mr Horst Teltschik, Helmut Kohl's plenipotentiary, this was not achieved, in spite of the fact that the Polish side showed a very deep understanding for the several problems which are of special concern to the FRG Government.

[Solecki] Have you any comments on the fact that concurrently with the decision to postpone the visit, there are signs of an increasing anti-Polish campaign, which is not altogether free of the old revisionist slogans?

[Kucza] I was astounded by some of the pronouncements made by the representatives of the FRG Government, who have publicly began to undermine the fundamental principles of the treaty of December 1970. I can only comment that it does not do anything to help create the good atmosphere which should accompany the preparations for the visit of the chancellor and the improvement of relations between Poland and the FRG.

Groups Convene To Discuss Increases in Wages

Parliamentary Floor Group Meets

LD1007160489 Warsaw PAP in English 1409 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—A government draft law on raising wages this year in connection with changes in retail prices of goods and consumer services was the main topic of a meeting of the citizens' parliamentary floor group today. Bronislaw Geremek chaired the debates.

Experts of the group are of an opinion that the proposed law reflects the idea forwarded during the "round table" talks by the opposition-Solidarity side. However, the effectiveness of the law in protecting the wages' real value will depend on the self-discipline of both sides, that is, the management and trade unions alike.

The deputies and senators got acquainted with questions and interpellations to be presented by the group's members. One of these—presented personally by Geremek—will concern the case of Zdzislaw Najder. The parliamentarians also decided that in order to adopt a stand on the election of the president, the floor group would convene two days before the meeting of the National Assembly and not on the eve as previously planned.

Sejm Group on Indexation

LD1007160889 Warsaw PAP in English 1428 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—Indexation was one of topics discussed at a meeting of the Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] Sejm floor group today.

The PUWP deputies also heard the opinion of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), whose vice-chairman Waclaw Martyniuk confirmed its negative stand on indexation in tune with a concept adopted during the "round table" talks.

During the discussion, the PUWP deputies determined that the OPZZ proposal would result only in an economic chaos.

The floor group decided that Deputy Marcin Swiecicki would present its stand at a Sejm meeting. The group also recommended several of its members as candidates to an extraordinary committee that would analyze a government draft law concerning indexation.

The debate was chaired by Marian Orzechowski and next by Tadeusz Fiszbach.

Sejm Begins Debate on Increases

LD1007161189 Warsaw PAP in English
1430 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—A working meeting of the Sejm started at 16:00 here today.

The agenda includes the first reading of a government draft law on the increase of wages in 1989 in connection with changes of retail prices of consumer goods and services. The Sejm is also to elect an extraordinary committee which is to view this draft. The agenda also includes deputies' interpellations and questions.

Minister on Wage Indexation

LD1007210189 Warsaw PAP in English
2008 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—In his parliamentary address Minister of Labour and Social Policy Michal Czarski said, among other things, that the government was aware of the fact that the problem of wage indexation aroused and continues to arouse many controversies among economists and trade unionists. Indexation may bring positive effects if it restrains spontaneous pressure on wages.

The first indexation operation in the non-budgetary sphere will cover, if the Sejm adopts this law, the 2nd quarter of this year and will be carried out in August.

The draft law says that self-financing enterprises will increase individual wages according to the principles of indexation within their earned financial means. The indexation will be made every three months. According to the round table decisions the lowest wages have to be indexed too.

If the decision is passed that food prices will go free-market, there will be a necessity to allow for this in the indexation principles.

The to-date pay increases in the first six months of the present year show that despite the so-called equalizing indexation, despite declarations on general indexation, the pressure on wages continues. In this situation the postulate of general indexation starting in August should be approached with deliberation. It is economically impossible to link spontaneous indexation with general automatic indexation.

The planned law is to bind until the end of this year when its efficiency will be evaluated.

Deputies Discuss Pay Raises

LD1107082189 Warsaw PAP in English
2118 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—The lower house of the Polish parliament (Sejm) met today to discuss indexation. The first reading of the government draft law on pay rises linked to changes in retail prices of consumer goods and services topped the meeting's agenda.

If the draft law is accepted by the Sejm, the first operation of linking pays to prices will be carried out in the non-budgetary sphere next August and it will cover the second quarter of this year, minister of labour and social policy Michal Czarski stated, presenting the draft to deputies.

Work establishments will rise pays on the basis of their own financial means. If a decision is made on introduction of market mechanisms with regard to food prices, indexation solutions will have to take it into account. Pays of employees of the budget sphere are expected to improve in relation to pays of those employed in self-financing enterprises. The bill should be binding till the end of 1989 when its effectiveness is evaluated.

During the debates the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] floor group confirmed round table settlements and voiced the opinion that the Sejm, while working on the bill, cannot ignore the current market and economic situation which may bring about 100 percent-price hikes this year, faster pay rises and a budget deficit which at the end of May had reached 3.5 trillion zlotys already.

Taking the floor on behalf of the PUWP caucus, Deputy Marcin Swiecicki stressed that an extraordinary committee to examine the bill should take those phenomena into consideration. Since to disregard them means that indexation can lead to further market degradation.

On behalf of the citizens' parliamentary floor group deputy Jerzy Osiatynski took the floor to say that a lot of time had already been lost. We clearly pointed out at the round table where to take funds from: First of all, to cut investments, especially in the fuel-power industry sector, reduce spending on idle sectors. One of the conditions indispensable for effective indexation are strong trade unions able to restrain uncontrolled indexation. Another condition is a government able to control the outflow of money, he stated.

Though shortcomings of the proposed solution are obvious, the indexation draft cannot be withdrawn as this would not be in line with round table settlements, said Deputy Wieslaw Chmielarski. The most important task is to find reasonable solutions and the Extraordinary Committee should do this.

After the end of the discussion the draft law was sent to be examined by the Sejm Extraordinary Committee set up today.

Deputies' question time was the last item on today's agenda. Interior Vice-Minister Zbigniew Pudysz gave a reply to an interpellation made by Deputies Anna Urbanowicz, Janusz Rozek and Tadeusz Kowalczyk and concerning activities undertaken by the police before midnight on July 4 against a picket staged by the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) and aimed at a possible election of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski for Poland's president.

The deputies asked for explanation whether the minister had known about and allowed for the action, and if this had not been the case, what steps he had taken to find and punish perpetrators.

Pudysz said that the course of earlier illegal demonstrations held by the KPN and also the place and time of the demonstration organized in front of the Sejm on that day had obliged the police to take particular safety precautions. They were justified by the necessity to keep the solemn character of the debates of the parliament.

The police tried several times to persuade participants in the illegal gathering to disperse. Some responded to appeals by gradually leaving the place during that day. Late in the evening 12 persons participated in the gathering.

Following a decision made by the Warsaw-Srodmiescie district office of internal affairs, a group of police functionaries, including plain clothes ones, was sent to the place at about 23.30 hrs. The commander of plain clothes' policemen showed his police identity card and once more called on picketers to leave the place.

Some followed calls of law enforcement forces, doing this of their own will. The rest who resisted the police were led to police vans. One may assume justifiably that, unfortunately, one of the picket (as it was stated in the interpellation—Marek Miszczak, and as it was evidenced by the investigation—Zygmunt Miszczak) had his nose injured.

Pudysz regretted to say that the victim had not been granted medical treatment. All the detained were freed after their identity was established. Some were taken to a railway station at their own request. The rest wished to be transported near the flat of Leszek Moczulski (KPN leader).

Law enforcement activities taken by the police are not centralized and decisions are made in this respect by local bodies of the ministry. This time the decision was made by the command of the Warsaw-Srodmiescie office of internal affairs, responsible for the state of public order in the area near the Parliament. The interior minister learned about the action on the following day, Pudysz said.

Recalling cases of incidents and serious violations of public order in the streets of Warsaw and several other cities caused by the KPN, Pudysz pointed out that organizers of those demonstrations, turning into street brawls, had not asked proper administration authorities to get legal permits. They did not even notify the police of their intention to stage them, this being also true as regards the demonstration in question.

Informing deputies that the prosecutor's office and the head of the Warsaw office of internal affairs have been carrying on separate investigations, the interior vice-minister asked the Sejm to take into account the need to legally regulate a possibility of staging demonstrations in the close vicinity of the parliament.

Next deputies posed numerous questions and forwarded many postulates concerning the Ministry of Internal Affairs and subordinated services.

Bush Statements on East Europe Criticized
AU1007115189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1025 GMT 10 Jul 89

["High Responsibility for the Cause of Socialism, of Cooperation and Peace in Europe, a Resolute Riposte to the Attempts at Interfering in Domestic Affairs and Destabiliziation"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/07/1989—Under the above headline, ROMANIA LIBERA of 10 July runs the following commentary on the declaration of the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty socialist states.

A meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states has been held in Bucharest these days. As the communique released shows, it occasioned an exchange of opinions on the international situation, a survey of the main directions of action of the socialist states members of the Warsaw Treaty to strengthen peace and stability in Europe, expand international cooperation and dialogue. The top-level representatives of the participating states signed the document "for a stable and secure Europe, free from nuclear and chemical weapons, for a substantial reduction of armed forces, armaments and military spending".

Highly important questions of the international life were debated during the meeting and opinions were exchanged on issues related to economic and social cooperation, to the building of the new system in the participating states, the documents adopted mirroring their common stands. The meeting is highly significant for our future cooperation, both on an international plane and in building socialism in our countries, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in the speech he made at the dinner given in honour of the participants.

The Bucharest declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states sets out from the realities of the contemporary world, inspired by all peoples' aspirations to ensure a lasting security in Europe, to take further steps towards disarmament, to set international relations on new bases, to mankind's passage to a new development stage, in conditions of peace and cooperation.

The participating states, focussing their efforts on the development of socialist society, assessed on that occasion too that the halting of the arms race, and the achievement of disarmament were the main issues of the present-day world, resolute steps by all countries, by all forces that cherish the cause of peace, of safeguarding life and civilization on our planet being required.

The declaration adopted by the socialist countries that attended the Bucharest meeting strongly emphasizes the primordial requirement of ensuring a policy of security, of mutual understanding and cooperation among states set on strict observance of national sovereignty and independence, equality, of each people's right to freely choose its socioeconomic development path without any outside interference, the use and threat of force being excluded. The declaration reiterates the determination of the Warsaw Treaty states to develop dialogue with all states, constructively to contribute to the settlement of the problems confronting Europe, to ensuring stability and security on the continent and throughout the world. In this spirit, the declaration brings to the fore the principle according to which the differences of social system must not hamper mutual understanding and interstate cooperation. The reiteration of this fundamental principle is all the more topical as one may note a recrudescence of attempts to interfere in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries to the end of destabilizing the situation in the respective countries, in Europe and in the world. Strong manifestations of the policy of interference in domestic affairs, of antisocialist and anticommunist policy of political circles in Western countries, the United States included, are behind the pretext of "European reconciliation". It is all the more serious as such theories are set forth by personalities holding high leading offices in those countries an attempt being thus made to raise it to the rank of state policy. The statements made in this respect by U.S. President Bush on the eve of his present European tour fully run counter to the norms of interstate relations, to the new way of thinking that should be asserted in the international life, to the requirements of the spirit of understanding and cooperation meant to rule the links among countries and nations. During a news conference, the U.S. President extensively set forth the "differentiated policy" promoted by the United States vis-a-vis the socialist countries. Telling expressions of this policy are the revival of old practices that remind [one of] the arsenal of the "cold war", the promotion of a strategy of a so-called differentiation of the socialist states, the issuing of "certificates of good conduct" of tendentious assessments.

"Solutions" are vehiculated, [as received], "advice" and "recommendations" are given to some socialist countries—Romania included—to renounce the basic principles of socialism, to re-establish private property, and revert to Western-type democracy. Furthermore, "an alternative future" of socialist countries is envisaged, and sententiously, even arrogantly, it is said: If you take this line, we can do more for you then. Therefore, it is quite obvious that President Bush urges to destabilization in socialist countries, to interference in their domestic affairs. He openly states: We shall be there, together with others from the West. Moreover, coordinated "programmes" are formulated to "assist" some socialist countries in reintegrating their economies into the global economy, that is the capitalist economy, and a symposium is announced to be held at the White House on the involvement of decision makers in the U.S. private sector in backing certain changes (one can see what the imperialist circles want to change) in socialist countries, with obvious emphasis on the fact that the participation of this sector is "essential" for such changes.

It is quite clear that such noisy "strategies" from the positions of big power flagrantly run counter to the

principles and norms of international laws, to the reality of the time we live at, the very spirit of the Helsinki Final Act the U.S.A. also signed. Such condemnable actions pave the way for interference in the internal affairs of states, for the violation of national independence and sovereignty, the right of each people to develop freely, self-reliantly in harmony with its will and aspirations. The declaration the socialist countries endorsed at the Bucharest meeting these days underscores the need to give a firm riposte to all these violations as well as to any other manifestations and forms of sowing hatred among peoples, of direct and indirect interference in the states' internal affairs. "No country has the right to dictate the events in another country, to assume the position of judge or arbiter", the Bucharest declaration clearly points out. "The allied socialist countries attach primordial importance to the ensurance of military, political and territorial stability in Europe. They start from the fact that each people decides the fate of its country, and has the right to choose its sociopolitical and economic system, the state system it thinks fit".

Reasserting the power of influence of the ideas of socialism in the contemporary world, the Bucharest meeting expressed confidence in the capacity of the socialist states, of the leading forces of society to solve the problems occurred in the development process.

Being convinced that the law-like progress of humanity is that of socialism, the countries participant in the meeting expressed their determination to take joint action in the interest of constructing the socialist society, of strengthening collaboration and solidarity among all the states building the new system, making their own political line, strategy and tactics, without any outside interference. Hence, the unanimously shared conclusion on the need to consolidate the socialist states' cooperation and solidarity, to further develop many-sided collaboration on the basis of equal rights and mutual respect is of utmost importance. It is really a stringent imperative that now, when the reactionary circles manifest ever more evidently their tendencies to give a blow, in one way or another, to socialism, to the countries that embarked on this road, all the socialist countries should consolidate still more their collaboration and solidarity in promoting the principles of scientific socialism, in defence of their socialist achievements and be increasingly vigilent against any attempt to destabilize the situation in their countries, generally in Europe.

The position set forth during the meeting and the measures proposed meet stringent demands and desiderata of our times, all while being an important contribution to promoting the cause of peace and solidarity.

Welcoming the results of the Bucharest meeting, Romania reiterates its determination to act, alongside the other socialist states—aware of their responsibility and mission for the ensurance of a climate of peace and detente, alongside the peoples and progressive forces everywhere, for the achievements of disarmament, the building of peace and security, the broad development of collaboration and understanding in Europe and world over, for a peaceful and prosperous future of the whole mankind.

Algerian Magazine Interviews Ceausescu

AU0607125789 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jul 89 pp 1, 7

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview With the Algerian Magazine REVOLUTION AFRICAINE" granted in Bucharest on 22 June]

[Text] As has been reported, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on 22 June received Larab Mohamed and Lazhari Labter, special envoys of the magazine REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, the central organ of the National Liberation Front of Algeria, to whom he granted the following interview:

Question: Esteemed Mr President, there is a great deal of talk in the world about changes and modernization, about reforms and restructuring. Would you let us know your opinion about these concerns. How does this process of renewal relate to Romania?

Answer: Generally speaking, the world is going through a time of profound transformations and changes in both the political and economic area. On the whole, one may say that the great changes in the world balance of forces—in fact, the elimination of colonialism, the existence of the socialist countries, of the developing and nonaligned countries, and especially the existence of a great number of states with a population representing some 70 percent of mankind, people who are underdeveloped and living in poverty—create and will constantly raise new problems regarding the development prospects of human society.

I could say that, bearing all of this in mind, the current international situation is not understood thoroughly and consequently no appropriate measures have been worked out to provide new prospects for the peoples' independent socioeconomic development.

There is, indeed, much talk about changes, modernization, reforms, and restructuring, but this talk is going on mainly in the socialist countries and in a number of countries that have embarked on the road of independent socioeconomic development.

Why do I stress this? Because, in fact, not only do the developed capitalist countries not examine the current situation thoroughly, but an attempt is being made to propagate the idea that the capitalist society is all-powerful and allegedly does not have to cope with very serious problems. However, it is common knowledge that the situation is completely different!

First, at the world level, the developed capitalist countries have continued and continue to promote a neocolonialist policy of oppressing scores of peoples, making tens of billions of dollars at the expense of those states, and thus maintaining a certain situation, I would not call it well-being, but a situation that can solve some socioeconomic problems.

Despite this, with more than 80 million people jobless today, even in the developed capitalist countries unemployment turned into a chronic feature of the current 10-year period. Poverty has grown. According to official statistics, the United States of America numbers more than 32 million poor people today, which is almost 30 percent more than in 1980. The same can be said about a number of European countries such as England, France, the FRG, Italy, and other countries. On the whole, the number of poor people in the developed capitalist countries exceeds 100 million today. The number of people who have no housing and have to sleep in subways, under bridges, or in other such places has increased. The number of illiterate people has risen and the number of drug addicts has increased alarmingly. The crime rate and other negative social phenomena has increased, thus clearly demonstrating the serious situation in the developed capitalist countries. Although they talk about it, the ruling circles in the respective countries have not yet drawn the necessary conclusions and do not plan to work out a new policy to radically solve these problems.

As far as the socialist countries are concerned, there is, indeed, much talk about changes, reforms, restructuring, and modernization.

On the whole, I think it is only natural that the current state of affairs should be examined thoroughly in one country or another, not only in the socialist countries, but in all states, so that the necessary conclusions can be drawn on the future socioeconomic development and on improving the material and cultural standard of peoples.

However, we could argue that some countries have not made this thorough analysis in due time; they have not understood that socialism cannot be built according to set patterns, "single models," and dogmatic concepts. As a matter of fact, it is known that for scores of years certain socialist countries granted these very negative states of affairs the status of "law" and "principles."

Therefore, we believe that it is only natural that the socialist countries and any people should raise the question of how to improve their activity. However, what we do not understand is the fact that this is not always being done on the basis of the socialist principles and by bearing in mind the interests of developing socialism. Unfortunately, this is sometimes being done by underrating and even negating the socialist principles, and by reverting to capitalist forms, which, undoubtedly, is a completely negative thing and against the interests of the respective peoples and of socialism!

As far as Romania is concerned, ever since 1965, that is, in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, it has always adopted a critical position on the ways and means to build and develop socialism. It has been more than 20 years now since we eliminated many of the negative things regarding the "single model" and dogmatism in the belief that socialism has to be built by creatively applying the principles of scientific socialism and the general objective laws to the specific conditions in each country. At the same time, we restored confidence in our own strength and the Romanian people's dignity and wish to be master in their own country and to independently decide on Romania's socioeconomic development path.

For this purpose, we created a new, democratic system of socioeconomic management. We started from the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing in all areas. Today we have working people's councils in all areas to manage socioeconomic activity. In industry, at least 30 percent of their members are workers. Certainly, in agriculture the great majority are farmers; in science, education, and culture they are people from those sectors, but workers from other areas are also participating in those activities as well.

We have set up local and nationwide bodies such as the working people's congress that takes place every 5 years and includes 11,000 participants who discuss the basic problems of our country's development. This congress elects a managerial council made up of some 1,500 members. We also have a congress of agriculture which is also attended by 11,000 representatives of the peasantry who elect a higher council of agriculture totaling some 1,200-1,300 members. We also have a congress of science and instruction and a congress of education and culture, which are attended by 7,000 and 5,000 delegates respectively, who also elect their standing managerial bodies. We may say that we have actually created a new system of revolutionary workers democracy in which workers, farmers, intellectuals, and other categories of working people are directly participating in formulating our country's domestic and foreign policy!

We have also perfected the activity of state bodies. I will explain our Grand National Assembly. Its deputies are elected every 5 years and usually two to three candidates are running for one deputy's seat. We have the county, town, and communal people's councils which include more than 60,000 deputies; in their case, too, two to three candidates are running for one deputy's seat. On the whole, we have perfected the system of broadly discussing, with all our people, socioeconomic development problems and our country's domestic and foreign policy.

This is why we believe that the democratic system achieved in Romania has played a particularly important role in strengthening our people's unity and in implementing the programs for our country's socioeconomic development. I have to emphasize that this is

reflected in the development of industry, agriculture, science and culture, and in the improvement of our people's material and cultural standard of living in general. For instance, Romanian industry today produces 135 times more than in it did 1944, of which a 120-fold increase was achieved in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress. Agricultural yields have increased 10-fold, of which a 7-fold increase was achieved after the Ninth RCP Congress, while the national revenue increased 40-fold, of which an approximately 33-fold increase was achieved after the Ninth RCP Congress.

This is why, being familiar with how socialism developed in other countries, too, we believe that the concern with perfecting activity—modernization, restructuring as they term it in some countries—should not be achieved by negating the achievements of socialism, but by affirming its potential and by working out new measures aimed at strengthening socialist ownership of all people and cooperative ownership, at dynamizing socialist development, at more vigorously increasing the economic potential of each country, at ensuring an improvement in the material and cultural standard of living, and at achieving social justice and equity.

As I said at the beginning, we believe that the problems of today's world are linked to the need to put a halt to the outdated policy of inequality and oppression and to ensure new interstate relations of equality and mutual advantage, and they are also linked to the need to ensure relations of social equity and justice at the national level.

Without this there can be no talk about modernization in any state!

We are convinced that the problems of renewal and modernization raised today will be increasingly better understood, that the socialist principles of social equality and justice will assert themselves vigorously, and that radical changes have to be made in the capitalist world itself.

Question: Some of the socialist countries hold that the solution to overcoming mistakes of the party is in introducing the multiparty system. What is your personal opinion on this and what do you think the Romanian Communist Party should do?

Answer: Indeed, some of the socialist countries are talking about introducing the multiparty system. The existence of parties, the existence of several political parties in a given country, is the result of its historic development. In actual fact, they appeared with the division of the world into antagonistic classes, which became accentuated in capitalism, and with the increase in social inequalities and the more pronounced division of the world into rich and poor and into oppressed and oppressors.

Obviously, with the elimination of the social system divided into antagonistic classes and with the achievement of a society of social justice, which has to be achieved in the socialist system, the existence of several political parties is an anachronism. In the new conditions, the multiparty system is no longer an objective requirement. On the contrary, it is a step backward, not forward, in the political administration of society!

Democracy and the participation of all classes and of all people in running the society can and must be ensured not on the basis of a multiparty system, but on the basis of new forms of organization and of the people's participation in running the society.

I have talked about how we have solved this problem in Romania and I do not want to repeat it.

In the context of the discussions in the international arena, we cannot help asking: What kind of democracy can there be in those countries where decisions are made by monopolies, where poverty is actually growing, and the people's living conditions are deteriorating?

The so-called democracy in the capitalist countries is a facade that conceals, in fact, inequality and ensures the rule of the rich over the poor! I do not deny—and I want to be well understood—the need for democratic forms in capitalism. I even think that their development is a requirement. However, I do not believe that socialism should copy this system; socialism has to develop new forms of genuine democracy!

This is why I personally am against a return to the time when there was a multiparty system; this is our party's view as well. Such a return does not strengthen, but weakens socialism! I have already spoken about the democratic forms we have achieved in our society, which we want to accentuate and perfect. We start from the concept that we are building socialism with the people and for the people, that everything that is being achieved in Romania has to ensure the well-being, independence, and sovereignty of our country, and that the true master is the people who have to consciously decide their future. However, this future cannot be anything other than socialism and, in the future, the communist society!

Question: Mr President, at a time when all debtor countries are discussing the rescheduling of their foreign debts, Romania announced the complete repayment of its debt. Is this a miracle solution?

Answer: The problems of foreign debts, especially those of the developing countries, are very complicated. The volume of those debts is in excess of $1,200 billion and, as is well-known, numerous countries cannot and will not repay them. The answer to the question, how could such a situation come about? requires thorough study, but two main causes are clearly obvious: on the one hand, the financial policy of inordinately high interest

rates, on the other hand, the inequalities in international economic relations and the policy imposed by the developed capitalist countries regarding prices in the world system.

True, the main cause of foreign debts lies in the two very serious facts of world relations, financial and economic, but we cannot help emphasizing that the credit-seeking countries also have a certain responsibility. Of course, this is beyond the scope of our discussion. I am mentioning this only because, in seeking solutions to their future problems and in planning their socioeconomic development, the developing countries should promote a better policy of using their own resources and no longer relying only on credits from developed countries, which, in actual fact, have not helped, but, on the contrary, have made backward countries even poorer. Undoubtedly, the question now is to draw the necessary conclusions to rapidly solve the foreign debt problem of the developing countries and to establish a new international economic order.

As far as Romania is concerned—I have to say it openly—it also made the mistake of resorting to credits; it, too, thought—wrongly—that they would help solve some of its problems. However, facts were quite different, because a more than 20-percent rise in the interest rates made the credits taken at one moment twice as large because of the inordinately high interest rates. On the basis of the analysis we made in 1980, we arrived at the conclusion that we should repay our foreign debt in the shortest time possible, otherwise we could not have ensured our country's independent socioeconomic development and the successful construction of the socialist society. We realized that as long as we had to pay back credits and very high interest rates, the Romanian economy would be unable to develop appropriately. Therefore, we focused on repaying this debt.

There is no miracle involved! As a matter of fact, as is known, there have never been miracles in any area. The complete repayment of the foreign debt this year is the result of the policy we have pursued to put a halt to dependence of any kind on other states and to ensure Romania's socioeconomic development under its own steam. In promoting such a policy, we developed broad international economic cooperation and collaboration with all states, without any discrimination, on the basis of complete equality of rights, mutual advantage, and nonacceptance of any kind of conditions from anyone.

Of course, efforts had to be made! However, I have to mention that these efforts did not stop Romania's development. On the contrary, had we not started to repay our foreign debts, our socioeconomic situation would have been worse now. I will only quote two examples. In the 1980-89 period we made 2,000 billion lei worth of investments, or about $200 billion. Today, anyone can see our achievements in the development of the forces of production, of industry, agriculture, and the other sectors, in the construction of housing and other sociocultural establishments. Not only did the standard of living and the working people's pay not drop in this period but, on the contrary, wages and pensions were raised twice by some 20 percent during this period. All this demonstrates the potential of our socialist society and the capability of our people who have eliminated foreign domination to build a new and independent life in accordance with their capability and wish!

Question: All countries, but especially the developing ones, are affected by the current economic crisis. You have stated several times that Romania is affected as well. What measures have been taken and what efforts are being made by your country to overcome the difficulties created by this crisis?

Answer: I have already spoken about the complex and serious situation in the world and especially about the very serious problems in the socioeconomic development process of numerous states because of the great effect of the economic crisis. The developing countries have been the most affected. All in all, not only did the developing countries make no appropriate socioeconomic progress in the past 10 years, but their situation deteriorated and this was—I want to repeat—a result of the injust and inequitable policy promoted by the financial and banking capital, the monopolies, and by the developed capitalist countries. However, the economic crisis has virtually affected all countries to a greater or lesser extent. As I have said before, it is strongly felt in the developed capitalist countries as well. Undoubtedly, Romania also suffered because it has also been affected by the consequences of the world economic crisis.

However, I believe that apart from what I have said so far, I should mention that the tremendous military expenditures also constitute a very important fact that has aggravated the world economic situation, considering the more than $1,200 billion spent on armaments each year to the detriment of the peoples' socioeconomic development and the solution of some social problems in numerous countries.

The arms race made many countries in the world cut their investments in the economy sharply and reduce their accumulation rate and development fund; this also holds true for the socialist countries. However, life, facts, and socioeconomic development up to now demonstrate that progress and an improved standard of living of the peoples cannot be ensured without an appropriate accumulation rate and without socioeconomic development.

Starting from this, Romania has worked in two main directions. On the one hand, we gradually reduced military expenditure, and on the other hand we ensured a high accumulation rate by allocating each year up to 33 percent of the national revenue for development purposes. Thus, we were able to ensure the development of

industry, agriculture, and transportation and to implement the large-scale housing and sociocultural construction program. It goes without saying that in the first years, all this limited the consumption fund, but as the national revenue rose, we were able to ensure a real and steadfast increase in the population's consumption fund and our country's development in general.

Thus, no country, whatever its social system, will be able to ensure socioeconomic progress unless it develops the forces of production and makes the necessary allocations for development purposes. No one can consume everything that is being produced! Anyone who pursues development has to make the required appropriations for a suitable development program on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology, and on the basis of the forces of production in general. Without this society cannot progress, nor can the well-being and socioeconomic independence of the country be ensured!

As I have mentioned, we have also broadly developed international relations with all states, without any discrimination. We have started and we start from the idea that active participation in the international division of labor and in the exchange of material and cultural assets is a vital requirement for any state to ensure its socioeconomic development and, at the same time, to achieve a better world economy that will ensure the progress and well-being of each people.

Question: Mr President, on the whole, the Western press has published contradictory information on the modernization process in Romanian localities. We would like to become acquainted with the concept that guides this project and with the stage of its implementation.

Answer: As far as the development of our homeland's localities is concerned, any visitor to Romania may get an idea and understand the way we have worked and propose to work to raise our people's standard of living and level of civilization in general.

As far back as 1968, the year in which we carried out our country's new regional-administrative reorganization, we proceeded from the need to ensure a balanced development for all our country's counties and areas in the belief that such a goal was a vital requirement for building socialism and improving the people's material and cultural standard of living, and a requirement for ensuring genuine equality of rights for all citizens in our homeland. In this 20-year period, large investments have been made in all counties and more than 180 new industrial platforms have been built along with the development of existing ones. Great investment projects have been executed in agriculture and this has ensured a balanced development of our whole country. We have introduced the principle according to which each county has to ensure a minimum per capita industrial output, so that there are no counties with high revenues and counties with low revenues. And we continue to promote this policy! It has always been our belief that we have to ensure a balanced development of towns and villages and that we have to make sure that the essential differences between towns and villages will gradually disappear.

In many countries the population from villages moved to towns. This process is well-known; it has created and continues to create numerous social and humane problems in general. To a certain extent, such a movement also occurred in our country, given the fact that today the urban population makes up more than 50 percent of the total. However, there are urban centers that developed considerably—10 to 15-fold! This growth is less obvious in Bucharest, because we have taken care that the concentration of the population in our capital is not too high.

What we have in mind is to ensure, especially through socioeconomic measures, people's stability in their settlements. This is why we pursued a balanced distribution and development of our counties and, within the counties, of the new urban centers. We have reached the stage when in towns we have solved the housing problem in general terms and it will be completely solved by 1995. We already have towns with surplus housing.

In this period we built a great number of homes in numerous rural localities, particularly for specialists and workers, but many of them, as well as many rural residents, have no appropriate housing. Therefore, we decided to pay greater attention to housing construction in communes, to ensure suitable housing for specialists and workers in the shortest possible time, and to assist cooperative farmers and peasants to build better homes.

This will certainly take a long time. What we want, however, is to completely solve certain social problems as soon as possible. First of all, we want to ensure a better socioeconomic development of villages by vigorously developing agriculture and other activities—especially the small-scale industry, services, and some activities of the large-scale industry—in order to guarantee our population appropriate working conditions and incomes. Second, we want to fully solve all medicare problems, although that is not a very difficult situation today, either. What we aim for is that, to a greater or lesser extent, village people should be able to seek medical assistance in their locality, without having to travel long distances. We want to perfect educational activity. Of course, education is guaranteed to all children. However, what we have in mind is to develop—beginning with the introduction of the 12-grade education as of next year—the material base, so that all children may go to school in localities that are the closest to where they live. We want to develop cultural-educational activity, an area in which we also have long-standing traditions and positive results. We also work to ensure appropriate commercial activity, to develop the necessary bakeries and other food outlets in all communes. As a matter of fact, just a few hundred communes lack such facilities.

We are doing all we can so that residents in communes may benefit from living conditions as close as possible to those in towns! We start from an old thesis of scientific socialism which stipulates that living conditions should be such as to ensure that residents in towns and villages have everything they need in general and under similar conditions, so that they are able to live a dignified life from all viewpoints.

We have achieved a great deal. But we also know that it will still take a long time to implement all these goals. But it is our duty to work with determination in this direction and we will do so!

What some parts of the Western press wrote proves a certain ignorance, if we may say so, but especially bad-faith and an attempt to find a pretext to interfere into Romania's affairs by spreading untruth. I say this is bad-faith because press representatives from various countries visited Romania and they themselves opposed such untruth.

The socioeconomic development of Romania, of all localities, towns, communes, and villages is further clear proof of the correctness of our Communist Party's policy of socialist construction, a process in which man and the people's well-being constitute the basic problem and the fundamental goal of all activities.

Question: In connection with certain Western publications which distort things, there has recently been talk about certain violations of human rights in Romania. What can you tell us in this connection? What is the situation in Romania?

Answer: Romania has proceeded and proceeds from the fact that we have to guarantee our country's citizens the best of working, living and educational conditions, in accordance with the level of development of Romanian socialist society.

Indeed, some papers in certain capitalist countries talk about the fact that Romania refused to sign some documents at the Vienna CSCE conference which contain formulations that remind us of the Middle Ages, whereby some people would like to rule on what should be done in Romania or in other countries. And all this while the capitalist countries have refused to accept the inclusion of certain human rights provisions in the Vienna documents. I am referring to the problem of ensuring the right to work for all citizens, especially young people, 30 percent of whom are jobless in certain countries; I also mean the problem of ensuring equal pay for equal work because, as we known even today women and young people are treated unfairly, not to mention people of different nationality or blacks in the United States, who receive 20-30 percent less pay than other citizens, and I am also referring to the problem of appropriate housing for all citizens, of education, and other particularly important problems regarding real human rights.

Among other things, Romania is blamed for not encouraging emigration, which has in fact turned into a policy of the developed capitalist countries of recruiting specialists from various countries, particularly from developing countries. And all this despite the fact that Romania has always granted and continues to grant this right, visas, and the necessary facilities to those who want to join their families! However, it is true that we do not encourage but oppose the policy of emigration, because we believe that the citizens of a given country should stay where they were born, should work and struggle to ensure their country's socioeconomic development. As a matter of fact, emigration itself is a human rights violation, because it uproots people from the natural environment in which they were brought up, from the places in which they used to live, and this is at variance with human rights.

As I have already said, we are firmly determined to ensure all the necessary conditions for a dignified and equal life for all citizens, the participation of all people in the management of society, in forms that are appropriate for the socialist society, and to guarantee Romania's free and independent future. This is how we understand the true ensuring of human rights!

Question: Mr President, in several of your speeches you mentioned that Romania has completely solved the nationality problem and that it would be a positive thing if all countries were to solve it in the same way. We would like you to outline the Romanian idea and practice in this respect to our readers.

Answer: Indeed, I have mentioned several times that Romania has solved—in a democratic way—the problem of ensuring full equality of rights for all the citizens of our homeland, irrespective of nationality.

Romania is a united nation state. The formation of the Romanian people started more than 2,000 year ago. During a certain period in history, citizens of other nationalities settled here—especially of Magyar, German, and of other origin.

For the sake of historical truth, we must say that at a given point, when Transylvania was under Austrian-Hungarian domination, a denationalization policy was pursued that forced citizens of Romanian origin to give up their nationality. There is much evidence of this, and Marx himself—who can by no means be suspected of favoring the Romanians—has talked about this issue.

We have always believed and continue to believe that the attempt to divide people according to nationalities has always served only the reactionary capitalist circles, those who wanted to oppress people to ensure their own domination. This is what they are actually doing today!

Starting precisely from this, our country's Constitution ensures completely equal rights for all our citizens, and these rights are ensured in practice as well. Through the

socioeconomic development I have already mentioned, we have created the necessary material base for all citizens to enjoy these rights. For when people are not provided with proper working, educational, and living conditions one cannot talk about equal rights by any means!

No one in Romania can say that, because of his origin, his opportunity to work in one or another area is curtailed and his pay or something else is limited. Similarly, no one can say that conditions for education in one's mother tongue are not ensured for all those who want. The press and literature in the given languages are known, because they are published. The number of theaters and cultural activities in the languages of the other nationalities are also well-known.

All this entitles us to say that we have fully and democratically solved the nationality problem and, indeed, it would be a good thing if all countries were to proceed from these consideration, so that people may enjoy all rights, irrespective of nationality.

There is practically no area in which we fail to ensure full equality! However, I repeat, had we not solved the problems of work and life, we would have been unable to solve the nationality problem.

Therefore, we are determined to work unflinchingly to firmly implement our nationality policy, to guarantee all citizens in our country increasingly better working, living, and educational conditions in the society we are building and will continue to build together and in complete unity, to achieve a united working people and build a society of genuine social and national justice!

Question: Mr President, Romania, a member country of the Warsaw Pact, has unilaterally decided to reduce military expenditure, arms, and troops by 5 percent. We would like to know your view on the elimination of nuclear weapons from Europe and on the process of disarmament and security on this continent.

Answer: I have already mentioned that throughout the years we have not increased, but have gradually reduced military expenditure, and 3 years ago we decided to go over to a 5-percent cut in troops. We made this decision for economic reasons, but also for political ones. We wanted to set an example regarding the need to go over—even unilaterally—to a reduction in military expenditure.

As is known, many socialist countries have unilaterally gone over to measures aimed at reducing their troops and military expenditure. The Soviet Union has also announced a unilateral reduction, involving an important number of troops and weapons. We think that all this is very important for the process of security and cooperation in Europe and for developing the policy of peace and cooperation in the world in general.

Despite all this, it is known that after the accord between the Soviet Union and the United States on reducing intermediate-range nuclear missiles, things did not make any headway, but in a way one can talk of regress. I am saying this on the basis of the fact that the NATO countries insist on modernizing the intermediate-range nuclear missiles which, in accordance with their own statements, would mean a four-fold increase in their destructive power. Actually, this would not only cancel out the effects of the cuts in intermediate-range nuclear missiles, but would even create an additional force, thus increasing the threat of the world's nuclear destruction. Nuclear testing continues. The process of militarizing outer space continues through the implementation of the U.S. program, which will inevitably prompt the Soviet Union to take appropriate measures.

This is why we believe that everything must be done to completely eliminate shorter-range and tactical nuclear weapons, to ensure that an accord on a 50-percent reduction of conventional weapons be concluded, that all states stop nuclear testing, that the militarization of outer space be renounced, and that appropriate agreements be concluded on the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. We believe that this problem does not only concern the Soviet Union and the United States, and not only the nuclear states, but all states in the world, because the effects of the use of nuclear weapons will be felt by the whole of mankind. Therefore, all countries on all continents are interested in the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and should actively participate in ensuring the best possible living conditions on our planet.

We also advocate the implementation of the conventional disarmament program and participate actively in these negotiations, determined to do all we can to contribute to the achievement of appropriate agreements before the end of this year. We advocate an at least 50-percent cut in these weapons, troops, and military expenditure, under appropriate international control. At the same time, we believe it is necessary for all states to work not toward accumulating new weapons of any kind, but toward moving to a world program of disarmament, toward eliminating chemical weapons, and toward reducing conventional weapons to no more than is necessary. Certainly, each country has the right to possess the weapons it needs for defense. We hope that—eventually—we will build a world without wars, hence without weapons. We know that this is an old wish of mankind, a noble wish, and we would like it to come true in the shortest time possible!

Question: In many of your speeches you introduced this new idea of a "united Europe." Mr President, would you please discuss this proposal of yours?

Answer: Romania firmly advocates relations of broad cooperation with all states in the world. We support regional understandings among various countries—like, for instance, the OAU—which should ensure broader cooperation among states to ensure their socioeconomic development.

In establishing such relations, we proceed from the need for full equality of rights among states, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and from each people's right to organize its life and to live in the social system, which it deems as being the most appropriate for its aspirations for progress and well-being.

In this spirit, we are for broad cooperation in Europe. We are for the abolition of the division of Europe into military blocs—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—which implies their simultaneous dismantling; we are also for the renunciation of the division of the European countries into economic organizations on the basis of active cooperation between the Common Market and CEMA, in order to gradually eliminate the present obstacles.

We believe that, in achieving the goal of security in Europe, we should start from a united Europe of free and independent nations. We oppose the establishment of supranational bodies—and we believe this thesis is wrong! —because this would not ensure a Europe of free and independent peoples, but would turn it, in one form or another and sooner or later, into a continent of peoples lacking freedom, where the aspirations of each people and each nation would disappear. We advocate a Europe united in its diversity of social systems, where free and independent states are preserved, a Europe united in its socioeconomic, scientific, and cultural development, and a Europe of peace and equal cooperation with other world nations.

Question: Much esteemed Mr President, we would like to know your opinion on how to solve the Palestinian people's problem. How does Romania view the just and lasting settlement of the Middle East conflict?

Answer: Our country has always advocated a political solution to the Middle East problems, the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and the creation of an independent Palestinian state. Romania was among the first countries to propose the convening of an international conference with the participation of all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] and Israel.

We have always supported the need to achieve an independent Palestinian state and, when that state was proclaimed, we recognized it and we have maintained diplomatic relations and relations of broad cooperation with it. Generally speaking, we have always cooperated broadly with the PLO in implementing its goals of self-determination and creating its own state. It is also known that we have maintained diplomatic relations with Israel and we have used these relations to work for and make our contribution to a political solution to the Middle East problems.

Today a new situation has arisen. The need for an international conference is almost unanimously recognized. Therefore, it can be said that conditions have been created to facilitate the convening of this conference in a relatively short time and the solution of the Middle East problems within its framework. The sooner this is achieved, the better it will be for the Middle East situation and for the international political activity. It is well known that favorable opportunities that may appear at a given point do not last forever, and that world events are so numerous that new obstacles may arise in the process of solving this problem. Therefore, I believe that all states should intensify their activity and organize this conference in order to solve the Middle East problems, primarily the Palestinian problem, including the independent Palestinian State.

Question: Mr President, we would like to know your opinion on Romanian-Algerian relations and on their prospects, in order to raise bilateral cooperation to a commendable level.

Answer: I would like to point out with great satisfaction that throughout the years relations of broad cooperation between Romania and Algeria developed in various fields. If I speak only about the past few years, one may say that exchanges and economic cooperation between the two countries have increased to a certain extent, although not up to the possibilities in the two countries.

Our countries have held and hold identical or very close positions on many international issues; this has ensured active cooperation between the representatives of the two countries in various international bodies.

Taking account of the current stage of relations between our two countries and of Romania's and Algeria's concerns with socioeconomic development, I think that there is a great potential for broadly expanding economic exchanges and production sharing for the benefit of both countries, and I believe that opportunities exist to intensify international cooperation to contribute, together with other peoples, to the solution of the serious problems of today in a democratic way and in the interests of all nations.

In conclusion, I would like to convey best wishes for progress, well-being, and happiness to the readers of your magazine and to the friendly Algerian people! I am convinced that our cooperation will be positive and that the friendship between our countries and peoples will continue to develop!

U.S. Congress 'Anti-Yugoslav' Resolution Viewed

AU0707140189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 89 p 8

[Bogdan Decermic report on telephone interview with Zivorad Kovacevic, SFRY ambassador to United States, on 3 July: "False Representation of Yugoslavia"]

[Text] New York, 4 Jul—At the end of last week, the United States House of Representatives adopted about 60 amendments to the draft law on aid to foreign countries, which included an amendment which is anti-Yugoslav in tone. Yugoslavia is criticized in the amendment for allegedly violating the rights of ethnic groups, that is to say for "limiting" the autonomy of Kosovo. An incorrect picture is given of circumstances in our country which helps hostile Albanian emigrants to harm, above all, the good long-term American-Yugoslav relations.

Yesterday we had a telephone conversation on this subject with Zivorad Kovacevic, Yugoslav ambassador in Washington. Replying in this interview for BORBA to the first question about the effects of the amendment adopted in the House of Representatives on relations between the two countries, Kovacevic said:

The United States House of Representatives adopted the amendment in question a few days ago. The amendment supplemented the draft law on aid to foreign countries which does not otherwise mention Yugoslavia. This concerns the same action that began in March this year when a number of anti-Yugoslav motions were proposed (Lantos's motion on the position of Albanians in Yugoslavia, Traficant's on the suspension of the most-favored-nation clause for Yugoslavia, Broomfield's on the violation of the rights of Albanians, and Barton's on a ban on the import of motor vehicles from Yugoslavia). Since 1986, more or less the same group of congressmen—most often at the initiative of the now former congressman Dioguardi—have put forward proposals for anti-Yugoslav resolutions which have not, however, reached the plenary sessions of the houses of Congress. What is new this time, continued Kovacevic, is that the proposers have avoided the procedure required by resolutions: They should pass through the competent subcommittee, committee, and a session of the house, including a debate and testimony from State Department representatives. Apart from that, they have gone for the type of amendment that goes directly to a plenary session and which, as a rule, is not debated. Thus, this amendment, together with the other 60, was adopted without debate.

Written in the Law

[Question] You mentioned the new element in procedure. Does the text of this amendment differ in style from the vocabulary that was used in previous drafts of similar motions in Congress?

[Kovacevic] In relation to Lantos' motion, the text of which was more or less adopted, certain changes have been made: Support was expressed for the independence and territorial integrity and unity of Yugoslavia; respect for the human rights of all nationalities in Yugoslavia was sought; mention of Slovenes as a threatened nation was rejected; some dramatic phrases were watered down; and so on. The amendment is part of a detailed and controversial law which has had absolutely no publicity here.

However, this does not mean that it is less harmful for our joint relations. Under the guise of a struggle for adherence to human rights, the amendment gives assessments which have no basis in fact. It speaks about the limitation of the social and political autonomy of Kosovo and gives a mistaken representation of Yugoslavia. This is no longer the stand of a group of congressmen. It is the stand of the United States Congress written into one law. Hostile Albanian emigrants, who have waved about draft resolutions so much, will now have in their hands documents which are supported by Congress. This will remain in the history of our peoples, regardless of attempts to minimalize the significance of this amendment by pointing out how little the congressmen were actually involved, and how little publicity this amendment received in the media here.

[Question] What is the next procedure concerning this law and amendments? What else can be expected?

[Kovacevic] For it to become law, the same text of the motion must be adopted by both houses of Congress. The Senate begins the debate on 11 July. It should be expected that Senator Pressler, who proposed the motion (with Lantos), will present the proposed amendment to the Senate. If it is adopted, it becomes part of the text of the Senate proposal. The texts are coordinated at a conference of representatives of the houses and this requires time. After it is adopted, the law goes to the President for him to sign or possibly veto.

It is difficult to say what the chances are of the amendment being stopped in the Senate. The statement with which the Yugoslav Assembly expressed its dissatisfaction and the justifiably strong reaction of the Yugoslav press show the United States representatives the unacceptability of this amendment—nevertheless, the United States Administration and Congress should be induced to consider the damage which this could do to our long-term relations of mutual respect and cooperation.

More Than Enough Information

[Question] What have you all done—the Yugoslav Embassy and you personally—to explain to this community the essence of the "Kosovo problem" so that it gets a true picture of the position and rights of the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia?

[Kovacevic] With the earlier resolutions, detailed information on Kosovo was prepared in the embassy and sent with our stands to all members of both foreign policy committees. I had talks with more than 30 congressmen. With the new motions, I had comprehensive talks with the representatives of the foreign policy committees, Pell and Fascell, with representatives of the appropriate subcommittees, the proposers of the motions, and with several congressmen.

In the letter sent to 70 congressmen, their attention was drawn to the real dimensions of the "Kosovo problem." I visited Rozanne Ridgway, assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs, and expressed our great dissatisfaction with the action in Congress and requested that the State Department intervene.

The subject of Kosovo was very apparent in the more than 50 lectures that I have given to foreign affairs councils, universities, and clubs. I have visited the editors of the NEW YORK TIMES and the WASHINGTON POST. The NEW YORK TIMES published the letter I sent concerning an unacceptable article carried on 10 April. I have also appeared on television. We have sent information on Kosovo to all the main newspapers and pointed out the weaknesses in their reporting. We receive many groups at the embassy, including students, representatives of various associations, and others who want to get to know Yugoslavia, its problems, and interethnic relations better.

On four occasions I have talked with Congressman Lantos, the proposer of the motion. He was invited to come to Yugoslavia and a good program was prepared for him, but he did not come. He definitely could not say that he was not well-informed. He respected certain arguments, but the result was that certain terms were changed so that the text would have a smoother passage.

During the visit to Washington by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, the subject of the anti-Yugoslav resolutions was discussed at a meeting with Secretary of State Baker, and particularly with representatives of the foreign affairs committees of both houses, as well as in talks with prominent senators.

Considering that the Senate's decision is yet to come, meetings have been requested with Senate leaders immediately after the holiday. The basic message is that Congress is getting involved in a sensitive and delicate issue in a not very commendable and unobjective way, putting at risk what has been patiently constructed over the decades.

LCY Presidium Prepares for 14th Congress

AU1007184189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1-2 Jul 89 p 12

[TANJUG report: "The Congress Must Be Successful"]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Jun—The 14th congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] should adopt a programmatic political document that will have a clear orientation, modern form, and will convey substantial messages. This document should clearly say what kind of policy and orientation and what kind of Yugoslavia the LCY advocates during the further build up of socialism in the pluralist time and space. At the congress, the LCY should present a clear political view of social processes in our country, connecting them at the same time with broader world processes.

This is the key stance adopted today at the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium (with Milan Pancevski in the chair), which discussed the concept of the preparations for programmatic documents for the 14th extraordinary LCY congress.

Before opening this debate, the Presidium adopted the decision to hold two sessions of the LCY Central Committee next month.

Continuity and Turnabouts

At the first of these two sessions which is to be held on 11 July, the Central Committee will discuss the Draft Report on the Activity of the LCY, the LCY Central Committee, and its organs and bodies between the 13th Congress and the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LCY. The direct tasks to implement stances and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo will also be adopted at this plenum. This was not done at the previous, 23d session, because there was no quorum.

The second plenum in July is expected to be held on the last day of the month and 1 August, and will be devoted to key problems of development of the national issue in the Yugoslav community. All dilemmas about the holding of the session on this very important and current topic have thus been removed. After the debate, which will last 2 days, the LCY Central Committee stances pertaining to the LC activity in the sphere of the development of interethnic relations based on socialist self-management should be adopted.

As part of the preparations for the next LCY Central Committee plenum, the LCY Central Committee at its session today touched upon the basic tone that will be offered to the LCY Central Committee members in the report on the work in the period between the two congresses, a debate on which was held at the session of the Committee for the Congress Preparations and the corresponding commission. It was suggested that introductory speeches should stress more the continuity with the present policy and the points at which a break in this continuity should be made, and the time between the two congresses should be marked as the period in which many processes have been started. In short, what is involved is the need to point out the critical assessment of the work and activity of the LCY in the period between the two congresses, including the work and activity of the highest party bodies, such as the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium.

Changes Are Needed, But What Kind of Changes?

As regards the debate on the concept of the preparations of the programmatic documents for the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY, it was pointed out that there are several months to go until the congress and that there are many things to be done during this short period. Presidium members are unanimous in the view that in such conditions when preparations for the congress are not made "by the usual, but by a shortened procedure," everything most be done to ensure a successful congress and the high-quality preparations of documents that are to be adopted.

The question still remains open on whether the congress will adopt a unified document in three parts—on the LCY tasks in implementing the economic reform, on ideological bases of the changes in the political system, and on the transformation of the LCY—or three separate documents. As things stand now, only the document on the LCY transformation has been finished and debate will be held on it until mid September, while the other two documents are not finished.

In Stanko Radmilovic's opinion (he is heading the working group which is preparing the document on LCY tasks in implementing the economic reform), one should clearly say at the congress what changes in the economic system we have agreed upon, that is, what kind of socialism is resulting from such orientations (pluralism of ownership, capital-relations, market, entrepreneurship, etc). Radmilovic is of the opinion that the congress should say "no" to these tendencies which "have crossed the Rubicon of socialism," and there are some such tendencies in the League of Communists. One should clearly say what kind of reform we have decided upon, that is, to say how have we decided to change our view of socialism, without abandoning socialist self-management.

The working group that is preparing the ideopolitical platform for the activities of the LCY in the political system changes—as stated by Ivica Racan who heads it—is united in the opinion that this document should express ideopolitical views of the LCY on the reform of the political system, with special stress on those changes for which the LCY will strive. The League of Communists cannot and need not delve into constitutional legal solutions, Racan stressed.

Democratic Offensive

This document—the Ideological Foundations of the Political System—will also contain the stances of a special group which is drafting the Proposed LCY Stances on the Implementation of Human Rights and Freedoms. Marko Lolic pointed out in this context that the LCY should be on the democratic offensive, that it should take the initiative, bearing in mind the level of human freedoms and rights achieved—these should certainly be further expanded to overcome the philosophy of statism and collectivism—which will give the individual priority and his full significance.

Regards the discussion of the LCY reform which is under way, it was said that its intensity and scope cannot yet be fully perceived. According to Ivan Brigic, it is necessary both to sum up the discussion to date and to initiate an expansion.

Regardless of the question that still remains open—whether one document or three, the definitive decision on which one will be adopted after a public discussion of all the three papers—the Presidium at its session stressed that an effort should be made during the preparations of the congress to overcome the differences within the several parts of the LCY, so that one would reach the congress with clear views on key problems of the future of socialism in Yugoslavia and the further development of democracy under reform conditions. One should not cherish any illusions that no differences will remain after the congress, it was said; but it is, therefore, necessary to prepare such a political program before the congress that will contain the key views on the situation in the country and in the League of Communists. Such a program should have a mobilizing role for all the party membership. In this respect, the responsibility of the leading LCY organs, including the Presidium, was stressed in high-quality preparations and in a successful conduct of the congress. Concluding the discussion on this question, Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidium, said that the congress must succeed.

The session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium today unanimously supported the idea of adopting some kind of a political declaration (resolution or statement) at the congress, a declaration that would in fact constitute some "connecting tissue" among all the three sections of the basic congress document (about the economic reform, ideological foundations in the changes of the political system, and the transformation of the LCY), or a programmatic synthesis of what the LCY strives to attain. The concept and the content of this "new philosophy" of the LCY, which the 14th extraordinary LCY congress should adopt, will be discussed at the next session of the Committee Preparing the LCY Congress, which is expected to be held by the middle of next month.

LCY Central Committee First Plenum Opens

LD1107094189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0724 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—The 24th plenum of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee, the basic topic of which is consideration of the draft report on the activities of the LCY, the LCY Central Committee and its organs and bodies in the period between the 13th and the 14th extraordinary

party congress, began today in Belgrade's Sava Center. Stefan Korosec, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, will submit the introductory report.

Today, the highest party forum will also elect one member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from the Croatian League of Communists—a post which became vacant with the recent election of Stipe Suvar to the SFRY Presidency. Marko Lolic and Branko Caratan have been nominated for this post.

Also on the agenda of the plenum is the adoption of immediate tasks in realizing the stances and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo, something otherwise discussed at the previous session of the Central Committee.

State Presidency Discusses Place in Europe
LD0607224789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1845 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia should expand its institutional ties with the European Community and those European integrations whose character is primarily economic, the Yugoslav State Presidency concluded at its session today. The presidency was reviewing Yugoslavia's cooperation with European groupings.

Contacts with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) were favourably assessed and the Presidency noted the possibility of establishing institutional links with that economic grouping. The Presidency also said there is an interest to join the Council of Europe, where Yugoslavia has recently been invited to attend as a special guest.

To keep in line with standardization measures, whose implementation is to be completed by 1992, is a priority course which Yugoslavia should pursue in its efforts aimed at joining the integration processes within the European Community.

Yugoslavia's legislation in the domain of the protection of human rights and freedoms must be brought in compliance with relevant international conventions Yugoslavia had signed, concluded the state Presidency in its review of the international aspect of human rights.

A new constitution which Yugoslavia plans to adopt will pay due attention to the complex of human rights and freedoms and the country will also review the possibility of joining other international conventions it has not signed so far, says a statement issued after the session of the highest state organ.

Since the international public has not been properly informed about the human rights situation in Yugoslavia—especially about the rights enjoyed by national minorities—based on the principle of equality of nations and nationalities, Yugoslavia must ensure that the world is kept fully informed about the actual state of affairs in this field.

In the field of the protection of human rights, Yugoslavia will also give its full contribution at the forthcoming conference of the Nonaligned countries in Belgrade.

Algerian Premier To Visit, Date Uncertain
AU0707123689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1059 GMT 7 Jul 89

["Pool" item—"Algerian Prime Minister To Visit Yugoslavia"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, July 7 (TANJUG)—Algerian Prime Minister Kasdi Merbah arrives on an official 3-day visit to Yugoslavia on Monday [10 July] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1823 GMT 7 July carries similar report on Algerian Prime Minister visit but gives arrival date as soon, not Monday], at the invitation of Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic.

The fact that Merbah has chosen Yugoslavia for his first official visit in the capacity of prime minister indicates the importance being attached by Algeria to the visit.

The make-up of the Algerian delegation, which includes three ministers with economic portfolios—light industry, energy and petrochemical industries, and hydraulic—indicates the areas which the Algerian side wants to lay emphasis on during the talks.

The long-standing good Yugoslav-Algerian political relations are not accompanied by corresponding economic cooperation. In the first 5 months of the year, trade in both directions was under 34 million dollars, with Algerian exports accounting for a more-than-modest 2.9 million.

Overall trade last year was worth 136 million dollars, with Yugoslavia marking a surplus of almost 130 million.

The balancing of trade is expected to be supported by both sides, along with a wish for achieving this in a way which will ensure the growth of overall trade.

The situation in investment cooperation is better. Yugoslav firms have completed 1.5 billion dollars' worth of deals in Algeria since 1985. Some of the projects—a water supply system for Algiers and several dams—are of strategic importance for the country.

Merbah and his associates will, besides Belgrade, discuss the strengthening of that aspect of economic cooperation also with partners in the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia.

The talks will also cover ways for expanding industrial cooperation, transfers of technology and other higher and more permanent forms of cooperation between the two economies.

Besides an exhaustive exchange of views on the preparations and agenda for the Nonaligned summit in Belgrade in September, the two sides are also expected to discuss the situation in the Mediterranean and international economic problems.

Merbah's main political talks in Belgrade will be with his Yugoslav counterpart Markovic. The Algerian prime minister will be received by Yugoslav State Presidency President Janez Drnovsek and, in his capacity as Algerian National Liberation Front politburo member, he will also meet with Yugoslav Party Leader Milan Pancevski.

Markovic, Loncar Receive UNESCO Chief

LD1007212489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1512 GMT 10 JUl 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 10 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Federal Premier Ante Markovic received in Belgrade today, UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor, who is on a three-day visit to Yugoslavia.

Markovic and Mayor assessed as positive, cooperation between Yugoslavia and UNESCO. The Yugoslav federal premier proposed the establishment of an institutional form of cooperation between towns which are on UNESCO's world cultural heritage list. UNESCO Director-General Mayor said that the initiative would be carefully studied.

UNESCO Director-General Mayor was today received also by Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar. Cooperation between Yugoslavia and UNESCO and the upcoming Non-Aligned summit in Belgrade were discussed. Loncar presented an official invitation to UNESCO Director-General Mayor to participate in the 9th Non-Aligned summit in Belgrade.

Economic Cooperation Agreement Signed With FRG

AU1007143389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] (?The free transfer) of funds invested in Yugoslavia by the FRG businessmen and the money invested by our businessmen in the EC will in the future be guaranteed by a special agreement, which was signed in Belgrade today by the president of the FRG side of the Mixed Committee for Economic Cooperation, Dieter von Wuerzen, and Federal Executive Council member, Dzevad Mujazinovic.

A similar document should soon be signed with Austria. This is an exceptionally important document which will improve FRG-SFRY economic cooperation. It encompasses capital invested in the state or social sector, as well as in the private sector. The free transfer of profit is also guaranteed. In addition, the document guarantees that the FRG firms in Yugoslavia, as well as ours in the FRG, will be treated in the same way as domestic firms.

Chief of Staff Meets Bulgarian Counterpart

LD0907173589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1127 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jul (TANJUG)—Col-Gen Stevan Mirkovic, Chief of the General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces, and Col-Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and Chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, held a working meeting at a border crossing in Strezimirovci today, and discussed interarmy cooperation between the two neighboring countries and its further promotion.

DELO Commentary Responds to Serbian Criticism

AU0607170189 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Jun 89 p 5

[Boris Jez commentary: "Who Is 'Party Right'"]

[Text] "The concept of democracy offered by the Slovene League of Communists [LC] leadership has a basically anticivilization nature," Petar B. Mandic, secretary of the ideological commission of the Serbian Central Committee, wrote recently. Perhaps Mandic is right, but we certainly could not say that what he himself offers is precisely "civilizational."

According to Mandic, the principle of one man one vote is the basic form of democracy and civil rights, and therefore he wonders why one Slovene should be worth as much as five Serbs or three Croats. What he has in mind is the extraordinary Party congress at which the LC of Slovenia does not intend to participate if decisions on key problems are taken by votes. It is a fact that, because of its numerical strength, the Serbian representation may outvote all others; it is probably not necessary to make any special comment on the political consequences arising from this.

The secretary of the Serbian ideological commission is undoubtedly right: The principle he offers is certainly a fundamental achievement of the French Revolution, because it merely remolds the principle of the equality of men. It seems, however, that Serbian political thought has stopped at this Jacobine maxim, while development has continued. Now, for instance, the equality of peoples is equally self-evident in the world, and Mandic is obviously not disturbed at all by the fact that Butan or Western Samoa have as much say in the United Nations as "big" Yugoslavia. And what would he say if Serbia found itself in some kind of a political link with China: Would he still advocate the one man one vote principle?

Well, one need not go as far as China, because the Serbian policy even in "its own" Kosovo does not strictly adhere to principles when the interests of the Serbian minority there are concerned.

Mandic would probably remark that the same "rules of the game" cannot apply in a party as in interstate relations, particularly if it is a case of a unified organization, the LC of Yugoslavia. This is perhaps true, but one should immediately recall the constitutional principle about the equality of the peoples and of the republics and provinces; is equality possible at all if all the decisions are made at the party center? The problem could become solvable with so-called democratic centralism, for which the secretary of the Serbian party ideological commission says it has no alternative. Present experiences, without exception, show that democratic centralism has never existed; it was always centralism, and never democratic at all.

The problem is in fact much wider, for the Yugoslav party membership constitutes only a poor 10 percent of the population, and—if we use Mandic's rhetoric—why should one Communist be worth as much as 10 "ordinary" citizens? We can go further in this sense: For instance, how does a tenth of the Serbian population have the right to decide at an extraordinary congress not only about Serbia, but about all other Yugoslav republics and provinces, perhaps even against their will? Mandic would reply that the Communists must be responsible to the workers class in general, and not only to its own republican workers class, as he put it in BORBA. The thesis is complete nonsense, because there is no workers class "in general"; the party can be responsible only to its own workers class, and it should also be responsible to its people, because as a minority it decides on the people's fate. What would the Serbian Communists tell their people if, for instance, some international congress were to demolish Milosevic and especially the present policy in Kosovo?

It is obvious that there is no need to theorize much about such matters, because so-called common sense should frequently be sufficient for deciding what is right and what is not. But no, with rusty ideological weapons, such as were used by the Cominform against Yugoslavia, Mandic tries to discredit the LC of Slovenia as a whole. This LC has allegedly misused the admission by the LC of Yugoslavia leadership that the LC as the party in power is most at fault for society's being bureaucratized! The Slovene Party leadership is alleged to have played with the LC of Yugoslavia, although the truth is quite different: those who are playing are those who try, with Cominform methods, to keep alive some kind of internationalist fundamentalism in the midst of the multicolored mosaic of Yugoslav society.

If the LC of Slovenia is the "party right," as the secretary of the Serbian ideological commission says, it must be stated that what is supposed to be the left is quite dangerously to the left. On the eve of the 21st century, it is indeed possible to swear by democratic centralism, party discipline, workers internationalism, and other similar values from that history of the workers movement about which we have few nice memories, but it is certainly unacceptable for one part of the LC, just as it is unacceptable to say that what is happening in Kosovo is settling accounts with the counterrevolution. Mandic and others who think like him certainly do not lack critical historical analysis as much as they promote quite tangible interests: The LC of Yugoslavia as "united" and "strong" may rule for ever, but if every party organization has to confront its "grassroots" and its people, many people will have a difficult time. We do not even mention the possibility that some other political organization may offer its people something more "civilizational" than a vulgar, pseudo-Marxist interpretation of the achievements of the French Revolution.

Republics Clash Over Budget Readjustment

Serbian Delegation Disagrees

AU0607193389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] The SFRY Assembly Finance Committee has not reached agreement on the readjustment of the federal budget. The delegation of the Serbian Assembly failed to give its consent to this document. The Federal Executive Council [FEC] will inform the SFRY Presidency about this and the Presidency may decide on a temporary measure. The next session of both SFRY Assembly chambers will be held on Wednesday [12 July]. Our colleague Olivija Rusovac, who is now with us in the studio, will provide details:

In the debate about the readjustment of the Federal Budget, there was an unexpected turn: The delegation of the Macedonian Assembly, which was the only one to refuse to agree to the budget readjustment, agreed to it at the last moment. The Serbian Assembly delegation, which did not withdraw its consent until last night, is now the only one not to accept the document, because it does not agree with the FEC measures pertaining to clearing policy [kliring], prices of electric power, and agricultural policy.

True, today the Serbian delegation was given the FEC stances pertaining to these questions, but that did not affect its decision. Thus, the Serbian delegation unexpectedly found itself the only one to refuse the budget readjustment, while the Macedonian delegation, out of an obvious desire not to be considered an impediment, even insisted on being given new opportunity to provide a clearer explanation of the Macedonian Assembly stances.

In the end, the Macedonian delegation agreed to the budget readjustment, after the FEC promised that when the next readjustment is done, it will take into account Macedonian demands pertaining to additional funds for financing social services and to losses incurred as a result

of differences in the dinar exchange rate. Delegate Milan Hrovat was satisfied with the explanation that these losses will be paid out to Macedonia in a shorter time than has been the case so far.

Since that next session of the assembly chambers will be held on Wednesday, it was suggested that the Serbian delegation should meanwhile change its negative stance on the budget readjustment. Delegate Novak Rodic said that he tacitly accepted the suggestion.

It will be known in 6 days whether the budget readjustment will be adopted as a temporary measure, or perhaps there will be more surprises before Wednesday.

North-South Clash

LD0607231189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2210 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's developed north and underdeveloped south clashed in parliament on Thursday on the question of rebalancing the federal budget for this year.

The proposal to rebalance the budget by 61,000 billion dinars failed to win approval of the six republics and two provinces for the second time. If the rebalanced budget is not adopted at the next parliamentary session on July 12, a provisional financing of federal institutions will be proposed, a measure applied only once so far, in 1987.

Anticipating this possibility, the federal government has already drafted provisional measures which, under the constitution, will become effective when endorsed by the state presidency.

This time the north and the south did not clash over the proposed amount of the new budget, but over its distribution.

Yugoslavia's biggest Republic of Serbia and the least developed Republic of Macedonia claim that their allotment from the budget will be unjustifiably reduced under the proposed distribution scheme.

The developed Republics of Slovenia and Croatia uphold the government's restrictive proposal, maintaining that it is in accordance with the country's market orientation.

The underdeveloped also support the orientation and demand the creation of "economic conditions equal for all" instead of having to shoulder the burden of the economic crises.

The Republic of Serbia objects to having to wait any longer for payments from the clearing payment area, as it has the largest share in these claims. It also demands higher guaranteed prices of electricity and food with which it supplies the entire country.

The Republic of Macedonia, whose economy is on the verge of collapse, does not agree to the proposed 11.5 percent reduction in the allocations for aid to social activities in the underdeveloped regions (amounting to 0.53 percent of the GNP). The Macedonian delegates insist on the observance of a legislation under which the funds can be reduced by not more than five percent. However, after the federal government promised to review the Macedonian demands in September, the republic showed signs of accepting the present proposal.

The new federal budget proposal envisages for a 0.5 percent cut in the original budget as the government has reduced the contributions of the republics and provinces by 1,500 billion dinars (one U.S. Dollar equals 17,280.24 dinars).

This year's budget, planned at 72,707 billion dinars or 8.5 percent of the country's GNP will be 332.9 percent up on last year's figure.

In addition to the usual budgetary outlays (for the army, aid to the underdeveloped, pensions and financing of federal organs), the budget will for the first time also comprise non-budgetary spending and account for the annual rate of inflation which stood at 652 percent at the end of June.

Further on Slovene Central Committee Session

LD0807100189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Excerpts] [TANJUG parts 1 and 2 not received] Pleterski then recalled that at one time in Krusevac, Tito had talked about envy between republics. We must add to this today, Pleterski said, that political pressures expressed through envy cannot be an instrument for resolving issues stemming from differences in development. In order for our working peoples to understand these issues, which Tito demanded, it is necessary that relations between them are free and not forced. In that aspect, the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] opposes the notion of pressure toward a unified state. The need for speeding up development of the less developed is in accordance with the principle that each nation has the right to decide about the results of its work.

The introductory report also contained an analysis of the relation between the class and national interest, with the aim of finding a cure for difficulties in relations between nations, Pleterski said. We are witnessing that even proclaimed representatives of the working class are stepping way from it, are opposing it, even through armed confrontation. The greatest danger arises when a party proclaims itself to be the only one capable of understanding the interests of the class—the only one authorized by history as a higher law. That danger doubles when a party appropriates a nation in the name of the class, either by negating the existance of that nation or by saying that it is the nation's only representative. Both are

present in the area of relations between nations. We are currently seeing Yugoslavia torn apart by these destructive causes. [passage omitted]

Pleterski assessed that the most dangerous conservative force in Yugoslavia is within the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. This is even more dramatic because the majority of the LCY decided extremely successfully to link the preservation of the one-party state with the social anger of the masses, which it channels toward the river of nationalism and to the "revival of the nation".

Representing the interest of one nation with respect to other nations is a warranted and necessary function of each republican political presidium within the federal system. The critical point comes on the domestic front in each republic, in particular regarding the issues of legitimate representation. "Homogenization" is an obvious argument in federal relations. It is, above all, an instrument in the struggle for monopoly of power within a republic, Dr Pleterski assessed, and added that the already achieved practice of pluralism in Slovenia shows that it is possible to act differently.

Pleterski then talked about possible answers to the question of how to resolve disputes between nations and republics. Socialist self-management is not the only cure. Another criterion which the practice has not fulfilled is the democratization of political life. It is the historical task of socialism to overcome the monopoly state which is intertwined with the party so that it can develop further. This is a theoretical issue no longer, but a political one, Dr Pleterski believes.

The suggestion that we should reject political pluralism because it is possible that political alliances, or possibly parties, could be formed in Yugoslavia on a republican and not just on a federal basis, is unjustified and even harmful. Such "arguments", Dr Pleterski judges, resemble arguments for election laws in the prewar Yugoslav dictatorship, which permitted public activity only when it was state-wide. The federal community of nations in Yugoslavia relies on the common interest established through their individual development. A positive factor regarding the firmness of a community is the voluntary nature of the system which enables political orientation towards and democratic affirmation of this interest.

The plurality of nations cannot be an argument against democracy, but, on the contrary, it is an argument in its favor, the introductory speaker explained. Noting that Slovenia, and even Yugoslavia, is fighting for socialism as a successful project of social life, as a federation of voluntarily united nations and nationalities, and Yugoslavia as a state of an open democratic socialism, Dr Pleterski stressed: However, we alone cannot ensure this. Too large a proportion of Yugoslavia, through its own national homogenization, is imposing itself on the whole country with the idea of a greater state [velikodrzavni] socialism, which is not prepared to allow either its own people or others, a democratic system for establishing a responsible government. This part of Yugoslavia is preparing a fundamental change in relations within the Yugoslav federation, including majority-vote decision-making. Loyalty to Yugoslavia cannot be strengthened by the practice of socialism which, through the creation of the extraordinary situation and measures, is becoming one with the Tiananmen, Dr Pleterski said.

Talking about the principle of one person one vote, Dr Pleterski claimed that in the beginning, it was a civilizational achievement, but that it should be supplemented with a mechanism which prevents the submission of numerically minor groups, because the situation in which the majority groups decide about the most fundamental interests of numerically weaker groups, will inevitably cause conflicts.

Dr Pleterski then talked about the right of nations to self-determination as something which "is not granted, but something for which one must fight." [passage omitted]

Self-determination does not mean sawing off the branch you are sitting on. This applies to all nations, not just to Slovenes, and it applies explicitly to Serbs. Serbs are facing the question of whether to change their status in Yugoslavia and Serbia—a status aquired through history. [passage omitted]

If we want to be sufficiently mature for Europe, then all of us together in Yugoslavia must try hard to normalize our relations within a common state. This would undoubtedly be good for everyone. If it happens that someone in the community changes the foundations of the community, about which all federal subjects had agreed in the course of their liberation aspirations, then he will be responsible for it, Dr Pleterski stressed. However, it should be said clearly that a federative community of the Yugoslav peoples is our first choice, and if someone changes it, then it will be his responsibility and his separatism. Slovenes will not allow any historical guilt to be imposed on them, Dr Pleterski emphasized. [passage omitted]

The Slovene LC Central Committee plenum on intranational relations showed that this question is not just relevant for Slovenia; it is important for relations in Yugoslavia and for Yugoslavia's perspective. At the same time, it expresses the fact that Slovenia takes responsibility for Yugoslavia and convincingly refutes claims that a right-wing profascist orientation toward breaking up Yugoslavia is active in Slovenia, Milan Kucan said when concluding the whole-day discussion.

The Slovene LC Central Committee expects, according to Kucan, that the next LCY session will be well prepared, even if it means that its date has to be postponed, and that it will be possible to agree there, in a reasoned fashion and democratically, about LCY policy on this issue. For that reason, I believe that it is justified to

appeal to the LCY Central Committee Presidium and to the state that it be responsible for thorough preparation of the session. As in the republics, the session should talk openly about the national question, that is, about its solution, about nationalism, separatism, chauvinism, national equality, and dangers from unitarism and hegemonism.

We in the Slovene LC Central Committee see the resolution of the Slovene national question as inseparable from the question of democracy, the social liberation of man, the affirmation of socialism, social self-managment, precisely in Yugoslavia, in the SFRY, Kucan said. The solution to this question lies in the self-determination of nations, in which their freedom, their national interest, and their comprehensive progress and development will be ensured.

The Slovene LC Central Committee is in favor of a Yugoslavia which will not be at the expense of any nation or nationality, but on the contrary, which will be in the interest of everyone and all together. Otherwise, Yugoslavia as a democratic community of nations looses its point and raison d'etre, Kucan says. Solutions to this question should not avoid responsibility for unravelling the tangled problems in a common state, in which there would be no outvoting of essential issues of joint life.

Regarding relations within the LCY, Kucan believes that it is a single LCY, in which cohesion will not be guaranteed in advance, but which will be reached on the basis of planned points of departure arising from joint agreements, and which is a reflection of the multi-national community.

Kucan summarized the previous discussion, which supported the introductory report by Janko Pleterski, despite individual disagreements regarding some issues. So, at the end, the introductory report was supplemented by emphasis on some theses. The final document will certainly embody the proposal that the Slovene LC Central Committee rejects certain public theses that non-Slovenes in Slovenia "be given the right to assimilation." The thesis, made public recently at a session of the council for language at the republican conference of the Slovene Socialist Alliance of working people, was negatively judged and assessed as unacceptable. In this context, the Slovene LC Central Committee reviewed self-critically the relations of that forum toward the status of nationalities in Slovenia.

Kosovo Presidency Notes 'Complex' Situation

LD0607225689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1617 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Pristina, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—At its session today, presided over by Hisen Kajdomcaj, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Presidency regarded the political and security situation in the province as still being complex, despite some positive trends toward normalization of the situation. This situation is influenced, as their statement stresses, by a number of factors, among which the predominant one is the continued activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists, manifested through verbal propaganda, slogan writing, and distributing hostile pamphlets. The crisis in the Kosovo economy also has a negative influence on the complex Kosovo situation. The Presidency concluded that the present situation allows no carelessness and passivity, but rather demands an increased advance by all subjects of social self-protection and other subjects toward a quicker and more lasting normalization of the political and security situation in Kosovo. It is also necessary for all sociopolitical organizations, state and other organs to work more efficiently and energetically toward comprehensively unmasking nationalisms and separatisms, the Albanian one in particular, since this is in the interests of all working people and citizens, and represents the precondition for removing the causes and consequences of the introduction of the extraordinary measures in Kosovo, the statement concluded.

Kosovo Conference To Be Held 10-11 November

AU0507193489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 89 p 10

[TANJUG report: "The Conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo To Be Held on 10, 11 November"]

[Text] Pristina, 30 Jun—It will be suggested to the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Kosovo that the Conference of the LC of Kosovo be held on 10 and 11 November.

This was decided today at the session of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the LC of Kosovo, which set out the direct tasks pertaining to the preparations for the conference and to the elections in the LC of Kosovo. It also set out specific tasks, who should perform them, and their deadlines. The draft report and proposal of the resolution of the Kosovo LC conference will be submitted to public debate from 1 September until 1 October.

The list of candidates for the 15th group [generacija] of students for the Josip Broz Tito Political School in Kumrovec was also set at the session.

Kostic Comments on Yugoslav Program on Kosovo

LD0507225289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1934 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Pristina, July 5 (TANJUG)—Most of the tasks envisaged under the Yugoslav programme on Kosovo are not being carried out, so that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the province under pressure from ethnic Albanian separatists and chauvinists continues unabated, chairman of the federal parliament's commission for the implementation of the programme, Branko Kostic said today.

At a joint session of the federal commission and the commissions of the republic of Serbia and the Province of Kosovo, Kostic said that resistance to the implementation of the Yugoslav programme in Kosovo was still going very strong, and that the activity of ethnic Albanian separatists continued intensive and aggressive.

Implementation of the Yugoslav programme on Kosovo is being hampered also by some political circles in the country, notably in the Republic of Slovenia, circles which openly support the Albanian separatists, it was noted during the debate.

It is not Albanians, but Serbs and Montenegrins, that are being threatened and discriminated against in Kosovo. Due to mass emigration, Serbs and Montenegrins now make up barely 10 percent of the province's population of two million. The session demanded that the European and world public be given objective information about the situation in the Yugoslav province as, it was noted, a false picture of the Kosovo problem is being painted in some countries, to the effect that it is Albanians, and not Serbs and Montenegrins that are threatened.

The Yugoslav programme on Kosovo was adopted a year and a half ago in order to cut short the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins under pressure from Albanian separatists, which has been going on for many years, and to create conditions for the return of the displaced. Although it had been long overdue, the programme was welcomed with hope and upheld by the public, but all analyses to date have shown that its results have been [word indistinct].

Thus, 2,828 Serbs and Montenegrins left Kosovo under pressure last year. Five hundred and seventy Serbs and Montenegrins left Kosovo in the first three months of the current year alone, which indicates that the emigration trend continues. Returnees have been few, only 187 in the period.

Since the 1981 rebellion of ethnic Albanian separatists, a total of 45,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have fled Kosovo before harassment, physical assaults and denial of basic human rights, and there have lately been instances of Croats, Turks and Romanies emigrating from the province.

Zagreb Radio Commentary on Kosovo Battle

AU0507192389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Jul 89 p 10

[TANJUG report: "Zagreb Radio Attacks the Celebration at Gazi Mestan"]

[Text] Zagreb, 30 Jun—Despite the announcements that it will have an all-Yugoslav character and importance, the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo held at Gazi Mestan has served only one purpose—further homogenization of the Serbian people. This was stressed in the Zagreb Radio commentary carried at the beginning of the yesterday's daily news.

There had been many historical and particularly current daily political reasons to expect the Gazi Mestan celebration to be a general Yugoslav, and not exclusively Serbian, event.

Even if we accept that the usage of "poetic license" is granted in connection with a celebration of an important event such as the 600th anniversary of a battle, one still rightfully expects events and circumstances to be interpreted with much more reasonableness and objectivity. This is inevitably forced upon one by the very distance of 600 years, however great the event in question may be. The assertion that, after many years and decades, Serbia has regained its state, national, and spiritual integrity only this year is, to say the least, surprising, the Zagreb Radio commentary says. Does that mean that despite the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and the socialist revolution, Serbia has not yet realized its state, national, and spiritual integrity?

However, in these times of science and knowledge which are the main conditions for progress and development, insisting on harmony and heroism alone—which means singlemindedness, strength, and force—is not only backword, but is also frightening when heard from the top man of a most numerous nation in a multinational country.

According to Zagreb Radio, the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo was really magnificent, both as regards the number of people present and the harmony expressed in the slogan: "Who is saying, who is spreading the lie that Serbia is small...."

However, we should not forget that Serbia is a part of Yugoslavia, a community of several peoples and nationalities, and we believe that most of them would like to go into the future with the values of the 21st century and not the symbols of the 14th.

Opinion Polls Conducted on Political Issues

DELO on Political Groups

AU2806173689

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 17 June on page 21 carries the results of a public opinion poll on the political groups in Slovenia, illustrating the article by Jozica Grgic and Marko Pecauer, "Who Will Fight for Power at Next Elections: Political Map of Slovenia." It is introduced with the following passage:

"There are so many political organizations, alliances, and movements in the small state of Slovenia, that many a large state with an established party pluralism would find it difficult to compete. To help the people of

Slovenia in deciding to whom they should entrust power at the coming elections, we have prepared a political map with the basic data on our 'parties.' A poll prepared by Stik of DELO on a random sample of 592 telephone subscribers in Slovenia should help."

The results of the poll taken on 12 and 13 June 1989 are presented in three bar charts as follows:

"Question No. 1: Let us say that we would have general, secret, and direct elections and that the present alliances and organizations in Slovenia would have to present their programs. I will list them now. Please write them down and say which of the programs of the said alliances and organizations would you personally trust most? (One answer)"

The horizontal bars on the chart represent percentages, but the scale is marked in units of four, so that no precise figures can be read from the diagram. The lengths of the bars are approximately:

	Percent
Slovene Democratic Alliance	less than 12
Slovene Peasant Alliance	about 14
Slovene Republicans	less than 2
Socialist Alliance of Working People	over 12
Slovene Social Democratic Alliance	about 6
The Radicals	about 1
The Greens	over 14
League of Communists of Slovenia	over 4
Socialist Youth Federatio	about 18
None	about 4
Don't Know	over 13

"Question No. 2: I will list the presidents of the alliances and organizations that are now active in Slovenia. Please write them down and say for which one you would cast your vote in the case of general, secret, and direct elections?"

The horizontal bars on this chart also express percentages, but the scale is marked in units of five and again allows only approximate readings:

	percent
P. Humar	about 1
M. Kucan	about 32
I. Oman	about 8
D. Plut	about 4
D. Rupel	about 7
J. Smole	about 18
J. Skolc	about 14
F. Tomsic	about 2
None	about 3
Don't know	about 9

"Question No. 3: A multi-party system has been spoken and written about and discussed quite extensively for some time. What is your opinion on this? Do you think that it would be good if we had parties, or if we insisted on the present political practice, or if we introduced political pluralism (activities of alliances and organizations within the Socialist Alliance)? (One answer)"

	percent
In favor of parties	56.20
Present practice	6.80
Political Pluralism	27.60
None of these	1.00
Don't know	8.50

BORBA on Political System Suitability

AU2206134989

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 19 June on page 5 publishes an approximately 2,500-word report on the results of an opinion poll carried out by BORBA's public opinion research center entitled "BORBA's Barometer: Is this political system good, or should it be changed (and in what respect)?"

The research center polled 20 people from each republic, "15 from 3 big cities from each republic, plus 5 more from each republic who acted as a control group". All 120 people were randomly selected from the telephone directories. The poll was carried out by six researchers, one from each republic.

The following table shows the results of the poll:

Table 1. Views on Political System

	Total	Party Members
Bosnia-Hercegovina (in percent)		
1. This political system is good and should be retained	5.9	12.5
2. This political system is basically good but should be improved	38.3	25
3. The League of Communists should have institutionalized opposition	23.5	25
4. The SFRY needs a multiparty system	23.5	25
5. The SFRY needs a nonparty system	8.8	12.5
Montenegro (in percent)		
1. "	0	0
2. "	80	100
3. "	0	0
4. "	10	0
5. "	10	0
Serbia (in percent)		
1. "	0	0
2. "	25	0
3. "	35	75
4. "	30	0
5. "	10	25

	Total	Party Members
Bosnia-Hercegovina (in percent)		
1. This political system is good and should be retained	5.9	12.5
Croatia (in percent)		
1. "	0	0
2. "	5	17
3. "	15	50
4. "	80	33
5. "	0	0
Slovenia (in percent)		
1. "	0	0
2. "	38	33.3
3. "	24	33.3
4. "	38	33.3
5. "	0	0
Macedonia (in percent)		
1. "	0	0
2. "	60	44
3. "	10	22
4. "	25	34
5. "	5	0
SFRY (in percent)		
1. "	1.5	2.7
2. "	40.7	40.5
3. "	18.5	29.7
4. "	33.3	21.6
5. "	6	5.5

BORBA on Rehabilitation

AU0907163589

[Editorial report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 3 July on page 5 publishes an approximately 2,500-word report on the results of a public opinion poll carried out by BORBA's public opinion research center entitled "BORBA's Barometer: Are you in favor of political rehabilitations?"

The research center polled 120 people, 20 from each of the six republics, who were randomly selected from the telephone directories. The poll was conducted by five researchers, each one being in charge of one republic, except one researcher who covered two republics.

The following table shows the results of the poll:

Table 1. "Are You in Favor of Political Rehabilitations?"

	Total	Party Members
Bosnia-Hercegovina (in percent)		
1. Yes	60	33.3
2. No	5	0
3. Depends on whose rehabilitation	15	33.4
4. Do not know	20	33.3
Bosnia-Hercegovina (in percent)		
1. Yes	60	33.3
Montenegro (in percent)		
1. Yes	25	37.5
2. No	10	0
3. Depends on whose rehabilitation	45	62.5
4. Do not know	20	0
Serbia (in percent)		
1. Yes	10	25
2. No	60	75
3. Depends on whose rehabilitation	5	0
4. Do not know	25	0
Croatia (in percent)		
1. Yes	30	50
2. No	5	25
3. Depends on whose rehabilitation	20	25
4. Do not know	45	0
Slovenia (in percent)		
1. Yes	55	66.6
2. No	10	0
3. Depends on whose rehabilitation	15	0
4. Do not know	20	33.4
Macedonia (in percent)		
1. Yes	30	27.3
2. No	25	27.3
3. Depends on whose rehabilitation	25	27.3
4. Do not know	20	18.1
SFRY (in percent)		
1. Yes	34.6	37
2. No	19.4	19
3. Depends on whose rehabilitation	19.4	31
4. Do not know	26.6	13

Federal Chamber Discusses Attacks on Army

AU0707112289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1-2 Jul 89 p 13

[R. Nincic, D. Pusonjic, V. Ilic, and D. Zarkovic report: "The Majority Is in Favor—Slovenia Is Against"]

[Excerpts] Despite the opposing view of the Slovene delegates, the report of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] on the attacks on the concept of all people's defense and the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] was put on the agenda of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly with 113 delegates voting in favor of it, 21 against, and 9 abstaining.

Janez Lukac, a delegate from Slovenia, said that the report of the FEC and the reports of the Committee for National Defense and the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations are in contradiction with some parts of the SFRY Constitution and the Rules of Procedures of the

Federal Chamber. In his opinion, the FEC's report negates the progressive role in the democratic society. [as published] He considered the report to be unobjective, one-sided, biased, and unacceptable.

The representative of the Committee for National Defense, its president Apostol Arbelski, stressed that all the participants in the Committee's discussions condemned the attacks on the concept of national defense and the YPA. He also said that not everybody has promptly and effectively reacted to these attacks. He said that he did not have in mind only the state organs, but also sociopolitical organizations whose activities should have a decisive effect on the elimination and prevention of attacks through unmasking their true content and ultimate aims.

No explanation, Arbelski said, can hide the fact that some papers' attacks on the YPA have become an integral part of their editorial policies, and that certain articles, instead of uniting, divide our peoples and nationalities, that they create a wrong picture of some communities in our society through their selectiveness of the data. [passage omitted]

Joze Susmelj (Slovenia) said that the report was sharply criticized throughout the republic for being one-sided, incomplete, and insulting. He said that the assessments and stands of Slovene sociopolitical organizations, the Slovene Assembly, and the Slovene Presidency were presented as an additional material for a discussion but that they did not receive suitable response, and that they did not change the stands and views of the two Committees which reviewed the material. Susmelj said that the report was rejected in Slovenia because it proceeded from the premise that every reasoning that is different to the official stands is ripe for political disqualification, if not for being declared a counterrevolutionary act. [passage omitted]

Ivo Divic (Croatia) was of the opinion that there is a small number of attacks and similar phenomena relative to the depth of the crisis in our society, but that they will be prevented when the crisis is surmounted. He particularly stressed the need for caution in making qualifications regarding the institutions which have failed to react to attacks on the YPA.

Bozo Kovac (Slovenia) wondered whether one can consider as counterrevolutionary the demands for a radical cut in the funds for the YPA, reducing the size of the special purpose industry, and the introduction of civilian instead of military service. In his view, the extreme views concerning the concept of all people's defense and the YPA induce extreme reaction. Kovac asked: "Will we use batons and prison to protect the borders of consciousness and the freedom of speech?"

Vice Admiral Stane Brovet considered as pointless the assertion of some delegates that the purpose of the report was to hinder the democratic process, and stressed that the YPA strives for democratization, but that it is against anarchy. Brovet mentioned the analyses of some eminent lawyers who claim that during 1988 and 1989 there were 26 different articles in various newspapers containing indications of a criminal act, but that only 10 criminal charges were filed. According to him, the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs registered 341 attacks, after which the authorities brought 143 misdemeanor charges and 116 criminal charges. Only 47 misdemeanor and 2 criminal charges have been processed so far.

The army was attacked on several occasion after the report was published. For instance, it was attacked because of the introduction of emergency measures or because of its presence in Kosovo, Brovet said. Some alternative alliances even demanded that the Slovene reservists be withdrawn from Kosovo. There were also some new ideas to transform territorial defense into republican and provincial armies.

Brovet also mentioned MLADINA'a call to foreign armies to occupy Slovenia and stressed that the number of attacks on facilities and guard posts in Kosovo is on the increase.

All this, he said, confirms that the situation has not improved even after this report has been complied.

Daily Views Referendum in Bosnia-Hercegovina

AU0507201989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1-2 Jul 89 p 2

[Zeljko Vukovic commentary: "Limits of Referendum Democracy"]

[Text] It is understandable that the political leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina is not hiding its joy concerning the outcome of the recent referendum, held to elect one of the five candidates for the member of the SFRY Presidency from this republic. This is because, judging by the prevailing measures of the relationship between the people and the authorities, the mass turnout of the Bosnian electorate, which was as high as 70 percent, has already been interpreted as an expression of the people's support for the leadership and their confidence in what it is doing. If somebody desperately needed this kind of moral support, then it was most certainly the Bosnian leadership which has been wounded by numerous affairs.

However, the fact that the prevailing measures of the relationship between the people and the authorities are set by the creators of the official policy, indicates that there is a dilemma on whether the referendum's epilogue can be regarded as the true moral support which will bridge the gap between the Bosnian public and the political leadership that had been evident before the referendum. Had the promotion of the referendum been

an independent and unconditional move which the leadership offered to the people as the most convincing proof of its democratic orientations, the high turnout could have been interpreted a priori as an expression of support and confidence.

However, what should not be contentious is that the above-mentioned referendum was a necessary concession by the politicians to the public which, infuriated by the Kecmanovic case, was at breaking point. This public had demanded direct elections and was granted them. That this is so, is proved by the slogan "You asked for it—now vote" frequently used by the republican leadership as the reply to the question: What if the referendum is boycotted? If a referendum is a democratic political act—which it is—and if it means a victory for democracy—which it does—then it is the public that deserves the main credit. By immediately declaring this victory as moral support would mean attributing it automatically to the leadership....

The confusion of these two ideas remains concealed thanks to the imposed view that democracy is also measured by the number of voters. The turnout of voters at referendums, whether mass or symbolic, is by itself a democratic consequence of a democratic act. Freedom to elect or not to elect is democracy. The danger that stems from the above-mentioned confusion of ideas is concealed in the politicians' ability to persistently, as long as they can, resist everything that limits their power. One way of doing this is to glorify even the smallest detail which indicates that power, or to be more precise, turn the essence of one's own defeat into one's own victory.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina, the people basically had to choose between five "Serbs and communists" who were put forward by the communal and republican leaderships. This is still not true democracy. One will be able to talk about true democracy only when direct elections are about choosing between the programs behind which stand specific individuals.

The experience of the so-called socialist world warns that so-called democratic processes do not necessarily lead to true democracy. Therefore, the assertion of some Bosnian politicians that true democracy is this republic's fate is unjustifiable. It is understandable that the transition from an authoritarian society to a democratic society requires time. However, the fact is that we have less and less time for such a radical turnabout.

If the importance of the referendum is not placed in the context which it truly and objectively deserves, the possibility of distorting the meaning of its epilogue will remain. The victory of Bogic Bogicevic, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, was as big a surprise—even to him—as was the defeat of Dragan Kalinic who was favored by the youth and intellectuals, as well as, according to public opinion polls, the "broader public". Public opinion polls aside, all the analyses of what contributed to this unexpected result are still at the guessing level. This politically piquant and intriging dilemma is diverting attention from another dilemma, one that is perhaps much more important for political life in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is the failure in the elections for membership in the federal presidency of Dr Nenad Kecmanovic, Dr Zdravko Grebo, and Dr Dragan Kalinic, the three younger politicians who, because of their radical and open conduct, have already become a synonym for "new people", regarded to be the only people capable of introducing the necessary changes in political life. They did not succeed for various reasons. Kecmanovic did not succeed because of insufficient "security trust", Grebo because of the rotating system, and Kalinic because of a "lack" of votes. Discretely pointing out that these three men deserved the status which the public has given them is perhaps justified. However, what should not be disputed is the fact that they are different from the others, if nothing else than because they advocate faster and more radical changes.

The dilemma is: Are we talking about an accident or perhaps something caused by the "system"? Regardless of this dilemma, there is no answer to an equally important question: How can we ensure that the top posts are filled by "moderate radicals" who would go a step further from the currently valid policies and their advocates?

Subotica Communist League Expels Officials

LD0707080689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2034 GMT 06 Jul 89

[Summary] Subotica, 6 Jul (TANJUG)—At the proposal of the working group, the Subotica League of Communists [LC] Municipal Committee has meted out the following measures: the punishment of last warning to Bosko Kovacevic, the former president of the Subotica LC Municipal Committee; the ideopolitical measure of last warning to Dragan Miljkovic, the former executive secretary of the Municipal Committee; warnings to Zuzana Erdudac, Tibor Boros Djevi, and Tereza Horvat Skenderovic; the ideopolitical measure of warning to Milan Jaric, the former president of the Sociopolitical chamber of the Municipal Assembly. The previous punishments of warning were changed to expulsions from the LC in the case of Tomislav Karadzic, Ljubomir Djordjevic, Vladislav Ban, Borivoje Djanic, and Vera Milovanovic. The measure of last warning was also meted out to Josip Palencar, the former president of the Subotica Municipal Assembly, and Miklos Forgac.

BORBA Commentary on Unity, Pluralism

AU0507125389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1-2 Jul 89 p 1

[Zdravko Huber commentary: "Unity in New Packaging"]

[Text] Throughout the entire history of real socialism, the political consciousness of the citizens of these regimes has been subjected to so much ideological alluvium that today it really is not easy to clarify concepts

and orientations in thought, let alone in practical social action. Despite all the "particularities of our way" (yet another ideological confusion!) this is also quite applicable to our version of self-managing socialism too.

The official producers of ideas—which is probably the main difference between real socialist and civilian regimes—generally very resolutely demand that the members of their society believe in the officially published truth. Monolithic socialism proceeds from the assumption that all honest progressive patriots must in the end come to the same conclusions without dilemmas and reservations, advocating the concept which the leadership offers.

The decades of socialist development according to this model have now unambiguously shown that it is no more productive than the other ways of politically organizing society. On the contrary: Many people who began to get involved with a modern civilization at the same time or even after real socialism (not to mention those who had a great historical and technological advantage) have today gone a long way. Those who, however sincerely, believed that they would radically improve the world with this ideological inspiration, received a violent slap in the face from historical practice. The illusory harmony of the social systems based on a firmly established political monopoly, have shown themselves to be much less productive than even the sometimes dramatically antagonized societies in which different social forces appeared with their concepts and came into conflict.

In principle, this recognition achieved by modern times also reached the socialist camp. Few of those who have left the protection of the Bolshevik wing of the socialist movement still preach monolithism as the official doctrine. Quite a large section of the socialist world have crossed the rubicon of admitting that a plethora of legitimate interests exists in society. If it is still within the bounds of taste to brag a little, Yugoslav political thought crossed this rubicon a considerable time before the other reformers of socialism. However, this still does not mean that the battlements of political monopolies have really been destroyed. Those in power, but also many people who do not have a particular amount of social power but believe that they are sincerely concerned about the fate of society, continue to see the greatest guarantee of social happiness and historical security in the uniformity of opinions, their own harmony, and sharp opposition to those who want something else.

The social crisis and certain processes of a nevertheless chaotic political pluralization in Yugoslavia have coincided in time. To the minds which essentially have not been emancipated from the doctrine of strict one-party socialism, this coincidence is sufficient reason to, in practice, reject pluralistic political thought. In this respect—either out of ignorance or because of personal interests—it has been overlooked that the crisis was very thoroughly prepared in the earlier monolithic stage. The fact that in the process of political pluralization, many bitter truths about our social reality have more easily and frequently reached the wider public and, indisputably, created a certain social pessimism and resignation, still does not mean that salvation is to be found in halting pluralization and returning to the tried and tested values of the old, one-view socialism. The way out of the check-mate which particular national-republican bureaucracies have got themselves into—which objectively has the main say on the Yugoslav political scene—is not in a "united" homage to one of these bureaucracies, after which a new illusion of social harmony would appear in which those who hold power would feel the most comfortable because they would not have critics or opponents (and this is probably the greatest desire of some supporters of strong unity and harmony). In any case, we have already had this.

A pluralism which is not just decoration, a federal structure which is not only the administrative division of the country, nations which are not only folklore, languages which are not only technical means of communication, religions which are not only inherited from the past, and finally—and above all—economic interests which are not just the immoral egoism of individuals and groups, nevertheless make Yugoslavia a somewhat more complex system than the supporters of simplified unity think. The types of rhetoric of those who are justifiably revolted at the behavior of certain natiocrats [naciokrat] and those who desire a unity established by a new monopoly that will reject differences can be very similar on this point. (After all the, all political vocabulary is not particularly rich. For example, there is no constitution in the world which does not bandy about the terms freedom and democracy, and we all know what kind of "freedom and democracy" exists in the modern world).

So, the unity of Yugoslavia and the harmony of its peoples and nationalities function as some kind of implied linguistic code with which communication is initiated on the Yugoslav political scene. However, the political content of these terms can be quite different. For some people, there is no united Yugoslavia without the "good, old" one-party system in which the principle of democratic centralism would begin to function in an already tried and tested way, even as far as the federal level like in the time of the great leaders of the revolution. While for some others, a united Yugoslavia could be a quite loose alliance of national territories which are as self-sufficient and homogenized as possible.

Even from the viewpoint of our socialist history and general world history, these two views belong to the past. Pluralism (if it is not reduced to a pluralism of homogenized national collectives in which we have already come a long way) implies a new unity in Yugoslavia. Violent unifiers, even if they do bandy about revolutionary left-wing ideology which is still acceptable to those ears educated in the classic communist tradition cannot, at the end of the 20th century, have political legitimacy. No political strata and groups exist which could say that

their interests and views are held by society in general. Only a political-military leadership can impose its will on modern societies and we have the chance to see how this looks in still less happy parts of the world.

The new pluralistic unity of Yugoslavia implies a common life with differences, and without the obsession that these differences will one day have to be surmounted and that an absolute and final unity will have to be established. Openness toward others and understanding of their differing interests and views is a much greater contribution to Yugoslav togetherness than a hunt for the alleged destroyers of Yugoslavia who think differently from us. In this respect, it is particularly important that these others are only other national collectives or other republican states in a joint federation. The network of freely intertwined interests on various bases will make Yugoslavia a more stable and productive state creation than all potentially benevolent programs which want to impose themselves by establishing a new political monopoly at a republican or federal level.

The prerequisite for this is for pluralism not to be seen just as a necessary evil and concession to some sinister foes of socialism, or even a trick with which to deceive opponents in order for everything to be the same again afterwards.